

MANAGERIAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL DETERMINANTS OF EFFICIENCY IN RESEARCH TEAMS (SOCIAL SCIENCES)

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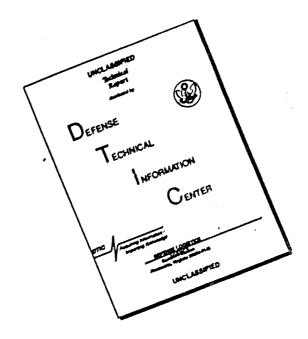
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This research explores the generalizability of the conclusions reached in a previous survey on bio-medical research. Various possibilities for a success index in Social Sciences are discussed. The diversity of the heuristic processes in the Social Sciences are described as well as the variety of leadership styles.				

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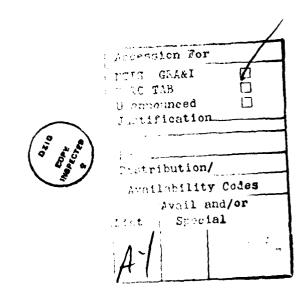
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I - PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

A first "research on research", now published in French and in press in a collective volume in English, sponsored previously by ARI, came out with conclusions on the relationship between the institutional environment and leader behavior, on one hand, leader behavior and team productivity on the other, which did not follow the classical contingency model. Moereover, interpretation of the data leads us to propose that the heuristic process plays a moderator role on the causal relationship between leader behavior and worker productivity.

This last observation, if supported by further research, could have far reaching consequences as, in practical terms, it would mean that team leaders should adopt different styles according to the heuristic process of their own field of research and, more specifically, the social aspects of research imposed by the approach to discovery in the field (interdisciplinary or monodisciplinary, solitary or group research, empirically— or theoretically— based experimental planning).

One way to go on experimenting on these hypotheses was to test the applicability of the model in another domain of research, preferably one where comparison of different heuristic processes characteristic of various fields could be possible. Social sciences were proposed and ARI agreed to sponsor another "research on research".

The present report will describe the development of the survey with heads of laboratories as well as the search for criteria of productivity. The survey itself was much less easy than the first one. Instead of a very small percentage not willing to answer our questions, we reach here only between 1/5 and 1/3 of the intended sample

according to the different fields. It must be said that the survey had to be conducted while preparation for a national colloquium on research, organized by the Ministry of Research and Technology, was keeping most of the member of our sample busy filling questionnaires, discussing research management and orientation, and anxious about the future of their own research organization. What was a new line of thought for the subjects of our first research appears like a political and threatening issue in the present case.

Moreover, as will be explained in part III, the building of productivity criteria to be agregated in a success index met with such difficulty in the social sciences that one wonders on what bases are decisions actually taken by funding committees and research agencies.

We have therefore organized the results in two parts :

- (1) report of the survey itself;
- (2) effort to build criteria.

These will be followed by a general conclusion on research evaluation in different fields and the amazing heterogeneity of the various fields in one domain.

II - THE SURVEY

1 - ECONOMICS -

- A) The organizational conditions
 - A.1. Affiliation
 - A.2. Teams' sizes
 - A.3. Researchers'training
 - A.4. Researchers' ages
 - A.5. Membership sex
 - A.6. For how long has the team been in operation ?
- B) The heuristic process
 - B.1. Mathematical economy
 - **B.2.** Economics research
 - B.3. Economics research applied to non-economics fields
- C) Research characteristics
 - C.1. One single field or multidisciplinary research?
 - C.2. Individual or group research
 - C.3. Basic research or grant research
 - C.4. Using existing data or building new data?
- D) The team's management
 - D.1. Meetings' frequency
 - D.2. Are researchers controlled?
 - D.3. Competition between researchers
- E) Teams! productivity

2 - LINGUISTICS -

- A) The organizational conditions
 - A.1. Affiliation
 - A.2. Teams' sizes
 - A.3. Researchers' training
 - A.4. Researchers' age

- A.5. Membership sex
- A.6. For how long has the team been in operation ?
- B) The heuristic process
 - **B.1.** Ethnolinguistics
 - B.2. Theoretical linguistics
- C) C.1. One single field or multidisciplinary research?
 - C.2. Individual or group research
 - C.3. Basic research or grant research
 - C.4. Using existing data or building new data?
- D) The teams' management
 - D.1. Frequency of meetings
 - D.2. Are researchers controlled?
 - D.3. Competition
- E) Team's productivity

3 - ETHNOLOGY -

- A) The organizational conditions
 - A.1. Affiliation
 - A.2. Teams' size
 - A.3. Researchers training
 - A.4. Researchers age
 - A.5. Membership sex
 - A.6. For how long has the team been in operation ?
- B) The heuristic process
- C) Research characteristics
 - C.1. One single field or multidisciplinary research?
 - C.2. Individual or group research
 - C.3. Basic research or grant research
 - C.4. Using existing data or building new data?

- D) The teams' management
 - D.1. Meetings frequency
 - D.2. Are researchers controlled ?
 - D.3. Competition
- E) The teams' productivity

The present report deals with three research domains: economics, linguistics and ethnology. Two public research organizations have been surveyed: C.N.R.S. (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique), E.H.E.S.S. (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales), and two public Institutes in which research is not the only activity, INED (Institut National des Etudes Démographiques) and I.N.S.E.E. (Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques). Actually, more organizations are included in this sample, since teams often have several affiliations: Universities, Museums of France, College de France. Fifty research teams agreed to answer our questions: however, eighteen refused with various excuses, and seven more were impossible to reach because they were outside France at the time of the survey.

All the research teams surveyed are located in Paris or in the center of the country; twenty interviews were conducted by phone, and thirty were face-to-face interviews. The methodology used in the research carried out in bio-medical research teams was applied: first, a letter was sent to each head of a research team; the letter explained the research purposes and asked for cooperation. An appointment (phone or face-to-face) was asked for in the following week, subjects being left free to choose the type of interview they preferred. The interviews lasted from thirty minutes to two hours (the mean time being seventy minutes).

Among the 51 research teams surveyed, 21 belonged to Economics, 13 to Ethnology and 16 to Linguistics. These three domains of research have been choosen for the survey because they allow us to test the following hypotheses:

(1) Research teams with different scientific approaches and different heuristic processes have different styles of leadership.

- (2) These different fields of research are not related to social events in the same way or to the same extent. For instance, Economics is very involved in contemporary problems. This could have an influence on the style of research and bring an incentive for competition and for productivity. Ethnology has another type of scientific value, as an effort to understand different cultures and ways of living. Linguistics is more distant from all kinds of social concerns, except when applied to the protection of threatened languages or to education.
- (3) The different human composition of each research team should influence the style of leadership as well as the content of research. For instance, young researchers need to be trained through the different stages of research, while mature researchers are likely to do long-term research by themselves, with less support from the group.

This chapter will include three sub-chapters: the first one deals with Economics, the second with Linguistics, the third with Ethnology; later on we will try to summarize results, propose and discuss some comparisons. For each field of research, four aspects will be described: the organizational conditions, the scientific process, the type of research carried out by the team and the team's management.

The methodology of the interview is exactly the same as the one described in our preceding report on research in the bio-medical $^{\left(1\right)}$. Some questions have been rewritten to fit the nature of the fields. A list of

(1) C1. LEVY-LEBOYER, C1. PINEAU, Caractéristiques organisationnelles, style de leadership et réussite dans la recherche bio-médicale, Revue de Psychologie Appliquée, 1981, 31, 3, pp. 201-235.

the research teams surveyed as well as the interview guideline are given in the annexes.

ECONOMICS

Twenty-one-research teams have been surveyed, seven by telephone and 14 by face-to-face interview. Let us remind the reader that 47 research teams in economics located throughout the country belong to C.N.R.S.: 34 are "associated research team", (ERA, equipe de recherche associée), seven are "research teams" (ER, équipe de recherche), four are "associated laboratories" (LA, Laboratoires associés), and two are "own laboratories" (LP, laboratoires propres). It means that 72 % of the research teams in Economics have a four-year contract with C.N.R.S., at the end of which they are rated by a committee which decides whether they will be granted again or not. It is not easy to become an ERA, but once a team reaches this point, it usually retains the support of the C.N.R.S. for a long while.

A - THE ORGANIZATIONAL CONDITIONS -

A.1. - Affiliation -

Among the 21 research teams surveyed, 14 are ERA, five are ER, and two belong to other national organizations: I.N.S.E.E. (National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies) and I.N.E.D. (National Institute for Demographic Studies). The research team which belongs to I.N.S.E.E. has a particular position: this is the only one to conduct this type of research inside I.N.S.E.E., and people coming from other departments may join it for two or three years if their research project has been accepted. This means that some of the researchers are not permanent. The research team which belongs to I.N.E.D.

is affiliated with a larger research department, and all its researchers have permanent positions.

Most of the research teams have strong links with Universities: 13 ERA are run by a professor, and among these, 9 are located in University buildings. Three are located in other national research organizations such as C.E.P.R.E.M.A.P. (Center for Research and Applications in Applied Economics) and C.R.E.D.O.C. (Center for Research and Information on Consumption). Two ERA which have a double affiliation (C.N.R.S. and E.H.E.S.S.) are managed by "Directors of studies" (the highest teaching position in E.H.E.S.S.) and located in E.H.E.S.S. buildings. Among the five ER, two are located in University buildings while managed by high level C.N.R.S. researchers and the others are located in Ecole Polytechnique, C.E.R.E.B.E. (Center for Research on Well-Being) and Foundation for Political Sciences .-each being conducted by top level C.N.R.S. researchers.

This description shows that all the research teams (except two) are related to teaching activities through their leader and are open to students. This feature is very important for the development of these teams, as further results will show. Table 1 summarizes this description:

A.2. Teams' sizes -

In order to rate the size of research teams, we have taken into account the different positions of

members: researchers, teaching-research persons (professors, and other positions of University teachers), technicians, and staff. Foreign researchers who stay in the research team for a limited period and outside coresearchers involved in the team's activities, but not as regular members have not been counted. Five research teams have fewer than five people, nine have between six and ten people and eight have between eleven and twenty. On the whole, fourteen research teams have fewer than ten people.

Seven research teams do not have any <u>C.N.R.S.</u>
researchers. There are several reasons for this fact: the research teams which belong to I.N.S.E.E. and I.N.E.D. have their "own" researchers; two research teams have C.N.R.S. researchers who eventually reached a Professor's position; E.H.E.S.S. team has only E.H.E.S.S. reseachers; and two research teams have been ERA for less than four years, one of them having only C.N.R.S. technicians.

Four research teams do not have any <u>C.N.R.S. ITA</u> ("Ingénieurs, Technicians, Administrative staff"), but they have at least one part-time secretary related to the University or to the organization where the team is located. In addition, in half of the surveyed research teams, there is no difference between researchers and ITA; in other words, ITA conduct research as well as researchers. In the C.N.R.S., it is easier to get an ITA position than a researcher position, so a lot of young researchers enter C.N.R.S. through this door.

All the research teams except one are involved in <u>teaching activities</u>, either through the head of the team or the researchers. Some remarks have to be made about <u>foreign researchers</u>: most of the time they are

Professors who have a grant with the University for one year in order to get in touch with the different research teams in the University. Some foreign researchers may also have a research grant from a national organization such as CEPREMAP, CREDOC and so forth in which the research team is located. So the team is likely to receive foreign researchers for one or two months. But very few teams receive foreign senior researchers for a long time. Actually, among the teams surveyed, two had more than one foreign researcher for one year. Both of them are large teams with between 15 and 20 people and are directed by Professors who are more than 50 years old. Other research teams have foreign students who get a scholarship from their country to complete a "doctorat".

To summarize, research teams in economics are small, involved in teaching activities, and physically very closed to one another inside each organization. For instance, in the University of Nanterre - Paris X, all the research teams in economics are located on the same floor and there is a federation led by a Professor which gathers all the eight existing research teams and stands for them in the University Council. In the University of Dauphine and Paris I - Tolbiac, the research teams in economics are also located on the same floor. As to the others, they are located in the buildings of the organization to which they belong, C.E.P.R.E.M.A.P., C.R.E.D.O.C., where only full-time researchers are to be found. This means that, among teams located in Universities, relationships are very frequent, and information about the researches carried out is widely circulated.

A.3. Researchers' training -

Eight research teams have researchers who graduated from University, six have researchers who graduated either at University or in Grandes Ecoles, five have researchers

who graduated at both University and Grandes Ecoles, two have researchers who just graduated at Grandes Ecoles. So the training given in the Grandes Ecoles is important, and we will have to check the impact of this factor on research teams' efficiency, since, in bio-medical fields, it appeared to be a success factor.

A.4. Researchers' ages -

Three age patterns can be described:

- (1) In 13 research teams, researchers and head of laboratory have about the same age (between 35 and 45 years old). Among these, one research team has both its researchers and its head under 35 and three research teams have researchers and head between 40 and 45. In one case, the head is slightly younger (35) than his researchers (35 40).
- (2) Four research teams have researchers who are between 28 and 35 years, with the head of the laboratory being 45-50 years old.
- (3) In four teams, the difference between researchers' age and head's age in large; researchers are about 35 years old and head over 55 years old.

To summarize, research teams are young, even if we do not find any beginners in research, which is due to last years' cuts in hiring researchers.

A.5. Membership sex -

Among 22 heads of laboratory, three are women (two are Professors, one is a C.N.R.S. senior researcher). Four research teams do not have any female researchers; only one head of laboratory said he prefered to work

with male researchers because women are too often on maternity leaves.

A.6. For how long has the team been in operation?

. Six research teams have existed for more than 10 years, including the teams belonging to INED and INSEE which are 15 years old.

Fifteen research teams have existed for ten years and less, including three who are less than five years old. It is expected that teams' length will have an impact on its productivity. But we will have to pay attention to the teams' history because some of them met with increased success when getting older while others saw their productivity decrease.

B - THE HEURISTIC PROCESS -

Three types of scientific approaches characterize economic research:

- (1) Mathematics applied to economic and econometry,
- (2) Economic research which basically uses statistics.
- (3) Economic research which uses both existing data and the research groups' own data, based on surveys they organize themselves.

B.1. Mathematics applied to economics -

Mathematics in economic research is used to express economic data in mathematical formulas; for instance, models of the economic impoact of under-employment. Research teams specializing in econometry have therefore two purposes.

To translate economic topics into mathematical language,

2) To devise specific statistical methods able to analyze new data. However, they do not use these methods, they only design them. One of these teams is expert in systems and games theory, which is the mathematics of decision. So these teams conduct basic research in econometry and their researchers are expert mathematicicians.

B.2. Economics research -

Research teams included in this group conduct basic research in order to analyze and understand economic events. They try to build models which are used for the study of economic data. For instance, in order to study intergenerational wealth transfer, a model will be built, then tested with real data. Basic research is thus either applied to actual events or used to forecast them. Sometimes they use existing models that they have to adjust. Another example is applied macro-economics analysis, such as econometric modelling of French economic development.

These research teams focus both on theory and applied research. Most of them have at least one mathematician and always several very well-trained statisticians.

B.3. Economics research applied to non-economic fields -

Modern economic analysis is applied to non-economics fields such as education, social policy, family. Test of different paradigms is used to improve theory or to refute it. Very few economics research teams conduct surveys by themselves; usually they use existing data. Sometimes, some of them plan large-scale questionnaires surveys, but these are very expensive and cannot be

frequent. Differences between the types of economics research described under B2 and B3 are to be found at the level of application. In B2, theoretical models are applied to economics data which are also used to build or adjust new models; in B3, research is applied to non-economic fields.

There is a very important feature common to the three types of scientific approaches: all of them start with a theoretical hypothesis or theoretical concepts, and (except for mathematical economics which only undertake basic research), the other approaches are always based on theory and establish a symmetrical relation between theory and data. To summarize, economics research is focused on mathematical translation of economic events, devising and testing basic models and working out forecasting models.

C - RESEARCH CHARACTERISTICS -

C.1. One single field or interdisciplinary research ?

Among the 21 research teams surveyed, ten have at least one mathematician, and eleven have none. Moreover, seven have among their staff, researchers whose basic training is neither economics, nor mathematics, but training in other fields, such as history or social sciences. We can say that fifteen research teams are unidisciplinary, in the sense that their researchers are only economists and mathematicians.

It must be added that researchers with basic training in sociology who belong to economic research teams have some academic problems in C.N.R.S., because they are rated by the sociology section, while their team is rated by the economics sections. As a matter of fact, until now,

C.N.R.S. did not approve the teams that have researchers rated by a section other than their own. This explains why there are so few interdisciplinary research teams. To describe the situation in simpler words: the institution itself is against interdisciplinarity, even if its productive value has not been throughly tested nor even criticized.

C.2. <u>Individual or group research</u> -

Most of the researchers work alone. They normally have a personal research project which is within the scientific field of the team. Group research does exist, but usually, it means two people working on one project. Individualistic research has been fostered by C.N.R.S., which gives more value to publications with only one name when they are rated for researchers' advancement. Group publications might be a collective book in which each chapter is written by a different person. This policy, of course, does not encourage group work.

Many heads of laboratory do not approve of this research policy. They say that the requirements for researchers' career advancement are opposed to group research and destroy the life of the research team. Moreover, they emphasize the fact that they have no authority on researchers who work alone and know they will be rated by an outside committee. If the team's heads do not agree with the methodology used by researchers, there is nothing they can do. So it often happens that researchers inside the same team use quite different methodologies. Even the researcher's purposes may not coincide with the team's purposes, and in order to have career advancement, researchers try to write as many papers as possible.

We shall return to this point later. But we wish to underline here the environmental influence on the nature of the authority actually given to the head of the laboratory. In the bio-medical field, where access to equipment and

use of the technical staff is a key factor, the head has power because he allocates equipment and staff. In economics, where solitary research with very often nothing but paper and pencil is needed, the head has no authority -except charisma- because he has nothing to give to or take back from the researchers.

C.3. Basic research or grant research -

Most of the research teams in economics receive grants from state departments, public administrations and private companies. Most of them will refuse short-term grants (6 months or one-year), unless it allows a graduate student to support himself for a while. But all the research teams have no equal access to grants: those who have research interests linked with present events such as unemployment, savings behaviour, women workforce, or who work on forecasts are more often asked to take grants and undertake applied research which is of interest to a specific ministry or state department.

Generally speaking, there is a controversial issue about grant research. On the one hand, grants are expected to widen the research topics of the team and, therefore, to broaden their interests; on the other hand with grants, it is compulsory for researchers to work within deadlines, specially important in economics because competition is hard, results are quickly obsolete—and are needed for decisions.

C.4. Using existing data or building new data ?

Data used by economics researchers are usually gathered by specialized organizations such as INSEE (Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques) or INED or state departments such as Ministère du Plan,

Ministère du Travail and so forth. Very few teams organize their own surveys because this would be too expensive. They prefer to borrow raw data and adopt then to their own research purposes.

In conclusion, most of the research teams in economics have mathematicians and economics researchers; very few have researchers with different training. The research is more often individual than group-work; however, as teams are small, even if researchers do not really work together, they know what research is carried out inside the team and outside in the other teams. Finally, researchers in economics do not gather data by themselves but use official data compiled by expert organizations.

D - THE TEAMS' MANAGEMENT -

D.1. Frequency of meetings -

Eight research teams do not have any regular meetings and meet only if they have a special reason, such as defining a program every term, planning a report on the research in progress or even having a scientific discussion about an important paper.

Four teams have one regular meeting every month; four teams have one meeting every week, and in this case, they are more often staff meetings than scientific ones. Two teams have seminars open to graduate students who complete a thesis with the head of laboratory or with other people from the University who conduct research on the same subject.

It must be added that the present situation is the result of experience. A lot of teams gave up the weekly meeting because they felt it was a waste of time. Among the four teams with weekly meetings, two of them make it a non-compulsory meeting which researchers attend only if they need it or want it.

Formal meetings are thus not very usual in economics. But let us remember that teams are small, and located in University, in E.H.E.S.S. or in other National Research Organizations, among other research teams. So information travels fast from one team to another; moreover, there are many experts' conferences which gather all the research teams in economics working on a specific topic so that everyone will know each other.

D.2. Are researchers controlled?

We almost answered this question already. Researchers with a C.N.R.S. position, whatever their experience, are not controlled by the head of the team. But they are required to write a work report for C.N.R.S. every year. In teams which gather only professors and high-level researchers, the head of the team has only an administrative role; he has not and does not want to have any scientific authority. Finally, there is control from the head of the team over graduate students who are doing their dissertation with him, while working with grants money inside the team. So researchers having a C.N.R.S. or a university position are independent of the head of the team to which they belong. Again, it is amazing to see how thin is the power of the head of the team who has more duties than authority.

D.3. Competition between researchers -

There are two kinds of competition within the economics research teams. First, <u>institutional</u>: several researchers who belong to the same research team apply for a C.N.R.S. position or for a promotion to a higher position. the organization puts them in competition. Second,

international competition, which makes competition inside the team, sharper. Whatever the type of competition, it stresses the individualistic character of the research. Generally, heads of teams prefer to speak of emulation inside the team rather than competition, saying that, since each researcher has his own research subject which is different from every other one. It is not possible to give relative evaluation.

The main feature of research teams' management in economics seems to be the <u>absence of strong leadership</u> which may be explained by the low mean age of team heads, and by the fact that the researchers and the heads of teams have often reached the same scientific level. The grant opportunities and competition outside the team are the real incentives for research which is developed in a very flexible organizational structure. The organizational power of the head of the laboratory is weak, as well as his real responsibility for researchers' efficiency.

E - TEAMS' PRODUCTIVITY -

Three productivity criteria could be used: publications (articles and books), participation in conferences, and quotations in high-standard reviews. Publications include articles in scientific reviews, French and international books, or participation in a book written by several people. As we already said, publications tend to be written just by one person. Very few articles are signed by three people or more.

International conferences do not attract a lot of researchers in economics. Most of the heads of teams feel it is a waste of time. But they like small international meetings which are used as workshops. However, they are aware of the importance of international conferences to make

their work known. As they lack the money to send researchers to attend them, they organize by themselves colloquia or "journées" (days) once a year or several times a year. About half of the research teams surveyed organize such colloquia.

To summarize, research in economics can be described through the following diagram which presents three types of research teams:

FIRST CASE -

C.N.R.S. teams located in University and led by a Professor (without any C.N.R.S. researchers)

- . No priority for field of research researchers interests are scattered
- . Vertical structure : many young researchers who have not yet a position and who complete their Doctorat.

SECOND CASE -

C.N.R.S. teams located in University and led by a Professor (without any C.N.R.S. researchers)

- . Mostly basic research
- . Group of University's Professors
- . Horizontal structure: researchers and Head of the team have roughly the same scientific level

THIRD CASE -

C.N.R.S. teams with C.N.R.S. researchers

Mathematics applied to economics

- . Very few relationship with general economy
- . Horizontal structure : researchers have the same scientific level and they mostly do research alone

General economics

. Many grants available Either:

Horizontal structure:

the head of the team does not have any scientific authority on researchers

'0r :

The head of the team has an administrative authority; there are several research sub-groups inside the team.

LINGUISTICS

Sixteen teams have been surveyed, 11 by face-to-face interviews and five by telephone interviews. In the teams having research program in ethnolinguistics, researchers belong either to the linguistic section of C.N.R.S. or to its ethnology section. However in order to avoid a more complex situation, we only include here research teams for which linguistics is the main research field. Various persons, either could not or did not want to be surveyed: one head of team had a long illness-leave, two had such a heavy schedule that they changed the appointment three times until they left to work in the field in Africa. Others refused to participate in the research, because they do not have regular researchers, except for teaching persons devoting part of their time to research, and working alone without any technicians or colleagues.

A - THE ORGANIZATIONAL CONDITIONS -

A.1. Affiliation -

Among the sixteen teams surveyed, nine are ERA (Equipe de recherche associée); for the remaining seven all kinds of team structures have been found: two are GR (groupes de recherche), two are UR (Unité de recherche) linked with a main LP (Laboratoire propre) which is the Institut de la Langue Française situated in Nancy and includes several relay-teams all over the country. The three other teams are a LP, an ER and aR C P (recherche coopérative sur programme); we did not plan to include RCP teams in our survey but this one is going to become an ERA and, as further comments will show, it works like an ERA.

Nine research teams are located in Universities, four in buildings belonging to E.H.E.S.S. (Ecole des Hautes

Etudes en Sciences Sociales), two in C.N.R.S. buildings, and one in two different places, Ecole Normale Supérieure-Ulm and the National Library. So Linguistics research has strong links with teaching even when the teams are not physically located in a University. As to affiliations of team heads, eight are professors, six are top-level researchers, and two are Directors of Studies (the higgest level of teaching in E.H.E.S.S.). Every head of team does some teaching, and this is true for most of the C.N.R.S. researchers, too. Team affiliations and shown in table 2:



Professor (8) Director of Study (2) Top level researchers (3) Top level researchers (1) Top level researchers (2)

TABLE 2: AFFILIATION OF RESEARCH TEAMS IN LINGUISTICS
AND LEADERS' POSITION

A.2. Teams' sizes -

As every research team in linguistics is involved in teaching activities, there are a lot of people affiliated with these teams. They attend seminars, work to complete a thesis but have no C.N.R.S. position. Some of them are young University assistants, some of them are high-school teachers. They have not been taken into account in rating the teams' sizes for their involvement is irregular. Teams' size goes from seven to fifty. Three teams do not have any C.N.R.S. researchers, and among these, one is a RCP team with only professors and teaching-research persons.

Another one is a young ERA, so as yet, it has no full-time researchers, and the last one gathers older and very erudite professors. But it seems that their field is "out of date" and does not attract younger researchers any more.

Size disparity is high: four research teams have less than 10 people, nine teams have between 10 and 19 people, two teams have twenty and one has fifty people. The last one's history is interesting. The team began in 1966 as a RCP, grouping research workers who studied languages of Africa. Then it became an ER, then a GR, and in 1976, a large laboratory covering several geographic areas in Africa, America and Europe. This laboratory gradually gathers existing teams in order to get more funding to finance field travel and field equipment. Of course, individual teams joined this laboratory on their own will in order to confort their status and make the team's position stronger.

Among the twelve research teams who have C.N.R.S. researchers, four teams have less than five researchers, seven have between five and ten C.N.R.S. researchers, and one has as many as 40 C.N.R.S. researchers and 10 ITA. As we already said, every head of team has teaching duties and many C.N.R.S. researchers give lectures or courses.

Almost all the research teams have technicians (ITA) or are allowed to use the staff of their university. The foreign researchers usually belong to a team where the language of their native country is studied, and they come in order to complete a thesis in France. After receiving their degree, they go back to their country and go on doing research in connection with the French team.

To summarize, linguistics research teams are unusually large and very much involved in teaching activities. Some teams have a lot of non-permanent "researchers" who come very irregularly, this being due to the specificity of their research field. These teams have very narrow fields and are often the only ones in Frances to do research on their subject.

A.3. Researchers' training -

Every researcher has basic training in linguistics except (in two cases in the same team) mathematicians with linguistic training as well. But most of them have double training, either in Human Sciences, Psychology, Sociology, Ethnology or in modern and classic literature or still in one foreign language. One team has researchers who took theatrical training, but this team is a theatrical research group. All the researchers in linguistics have been trained in a University.

A.4. Researchers' age -

Among the sixteen research teams surveyed, six are run by heads who are much older than the members of their team, as they are sixty years old and over. However, in most of the cases, researchers are older than 32, and a 35-year old researcher in linguistics is said usually to be a young research worker. It is interesting to note that the mean age of research workers hired in the linguistics section of the C.N.R.S. is 34 and that most of the present researchers are over 35.

A.5. - Membership sex -

Three research teams are run by women who are top level C.N.R.S. researchers and younger than most of the other heads, who are professors. Among the researchers there are a few more women than men.

A.6. For how long has the team been in operation ?

Six research teams have existed for more than ten years, six between five and ten years and four for five years or less. One must note that some teams have received the C.N.R.S. label recently but before that date, they were very active research groups in E.H.E.S.S. or in their University. Moreover, some teams created by well-known researchers in the field like Germaine TILLON built on their fame for quick development. So when a team's seniority is considered, one must take into account its history from the beginning.

B - THE HEURISTIC PROCESS -

Two types of heuristic processes may be described: ethnolinguistics and theoretical linguistics. They adopt quite different approaches. Ethnolinguistics does not use theoretical hypotheses because they are supposed to narrow the research perspectives and hypotheses must be suggested by the field. On the opposite, theoretical linguistics try to build a general methodology to describe and analyze both spoken and written languages.

B.1. Ethnolinguistics -

The main characteristics of ethnolinguistics is its geographical delimitation. For instance, one team will specialize in the ethnolinguistics of Indian America. It describes languages within this area which have not yet been studied in connection with the ethnologic context. Another team will specialize in "Languages and Culture of West Africa". Hypotheses are created through both the field work and the data analyses. They emerge simultaneously as data investigation goes ahead. Another team, using the

same heuristic process, specializes in oral literatures, dialectology and ethnography of the Berber-Arabic area. Some teams have to rescue languages which are only spoken by two thousand people, for instance, the West-Atlantic languages in Africa. Each of these teams is, therefore, highly specialized in a very specific geographical area. Basically, they make inventories of unknown languages or describe foreign languages, taking into account the social and historical context.

Some larger ethnolinguistic teams, which cover geographical areas over different continents, give priority to larger subjects such as oral tradition, description of languages and socio-linguistics. After they get their material, hypotheses and comparisons can be made and further research on syntax, phonology and lexicology worked out. In addition, the completed research can sometimes give rise to applications in the country where the language is studied, such as the creation of training programs to teach writing and reading in countries with very low literacy.

Two other teams in ethnolinguistics have a specific approach, since they study ethnolinguistics within a historical frame. One of these teams research field is the Italian Renaissance, and the other specializes in Spain of 16th and 17th centuries. Their research material consists of archives and literature of the period, and they also use research from contemporary ethnologists. They explain linguistic facts with the help of social and historical factors. Contrary to the first group of research teams in ethnolinguistics, they use existing data. But they have the same purpose: to relate linguistic phenomena to social and historical context.

B.2. Theoretical linguistics -

This type of linguistic research studies the characteristics of language through the study of various languages. For instance, one team works on the basic features of languages, which they name "invariants" because they cannot be reduced further in order to be classified. Another team research field is concerned with phonetics, phonologic typology and "contrastive" research. It means that they study syntax and phonetics for several languages belonging to the same group, for instance the Finno-upric languages. Theoretical linguistics works with well-defined hypotheses, which can be modified by the results which generate new hypotheses. This type of research uses computer data analysis, and one of these teams has three mathematicians as research workers. There is a very strong theoretical impact on research; and it seems that theoretical positions divide researchers working in the same team. Sometimes theoretical conflicts are important, because researchers lean on different theories and use different approaches.

In conclusion, it can be said that the heuristic process is very different for the two sub-fields in linguistics, ethnolinguistics and theoretical linguistics. The first one is basically the description and the explanation of linguistic phenomena; the second one deals with language regarded as a phenomenon which includes its emission, its reception, and the way it is structured.

C - RESEARCH CHARACTERISTICS -

C.1. One single field or multidisciplinary research?

As stated above under researchers' training, most of the researchers have double training, always including basic training in linguistics. In ethnolinguistics,

researchers have sometimes been trained both in linguistics and ethnology and also in a specific foreign language.

Most of the theoretical linguistics research teams have experts in computer data processing and often one or more mathematicians as well. One team specializing in the analysis of manuscripts has a researcher with a specialty in optics, while other researchers have linguistics, history or modern literature training.

C.2. Individual or group research?

Linguistics research seems to be both a collective venture and research carried out by individuals on their own. In teams whose research field is defined according to a geographical or historical area, researchers study one specific language or a specific subject within a common area. Thus, information from other researchers involved in the same area but working on different topics is very useful, if they study another language or even if they study quite different phenomena such as food habits or family structure. One can say that some concerns are common to all the group, although each researcher has a specific subject and works in a solitary way.

In theoretical linguistics, research is more radically individualistic. Within the same team, people will lean on different theories and use different methodologies. The only common feature is their purpose: the scientific approach to language structure.

C.3. Basic research or grant research -

Grants are very unusual in linguistics. Some teams receive grants from C.N.R.S. within a specific program, for instance "Automatic Phonetisation" with applications to

"Telematique" and robotics. Generally very few teams are eligible to enter a particular program, because few people are specialists in the field it covers.

Actually, research is restricted to people with an academic position in C.N.R.S. or in University. Linguistics research is only beginning, which means that each team had first to build its own data and methodology, and is just starting long-term research. Moreover linguistics is not a popular subject and needs for linguistics research are not priorities. Two teams doing research on "theatrology", on the one hand, and on "contemporary literary lexicology and terminology" on the other, have very non-traditional approaches and are considered as "avant-garde" (pionneers).

C.4. Using existing data or building new data?

All types of data can be found. In ethnolinguistics, some teams have to obtain all of their data. They use field surveys, records of oral tradition, as sometimes languages are spoken but not written. They have to create an alphabet. Some teams use both field surveys and manuscripts or archives. Theoretical linguistics does not need to conduct field surveys; basically it studies a set of documents as their raw material, and this is built from a well-known language. In fact, ethnolinguistics and theoretical linguistics do not work at the same level of research. The first one consists of description of inventories and dictionaries, the second deals with the analysis of language structure, including syntax and phonetics.

To summarize, linguistics is a <u>new</u> research field. Therefore, many research teams try to describe quite unknown languages, while others study the development of languages at a given time in relation to social context,

and others still try to create a methodology which could be applied to analyze other human sciences or other languages, regarding language as a scientific fact.

D - THE TEAMS' MANAGEMENT -

D.1. Frequency of meetings -

Half of the teams have regular meetings, for most of them, once a month. They are scientific meetings: Resear chers talk about their research, then discussion and criticism follow. Sometimes financial matters are discussed; e.g. the budget for work in the field. Two teams have meetings where the head never attends. He gets information later from a researcher responsible for the meeting and its coordination.

The structure thus created is often very loose and raise problems. For exemple, the head of one team who should ask C.N.R.S. for renewal of his team's position does not intend to do so, because he feels the present team to be too heterogenous and does not agree with the research perspectives taken by some members. This "crisis" is a good exemple of the lack of real authority of heads of research teams.

Other teams have several meetings a year, and in the big ones, the different research groups inside each team have their own scientific meetings.

In addition to these meetings, every research team has seminars for students who work on their doctorate under the team's head and also for other people who work on the same subject as the team, such as assistants coming from other universities or high school teachers whose job is related to the team's research and who look for contacts

with research even if they are not actively involved in a project themselves.

Meetings in linguistics are a large part of the team's life. They are specially important in teams who write dictionaries relating French and a foreign language still unknown, where collective work sessions have to be organized regularly.

D.2. Are researchers controlled?

Heads of laboratories are very well informed about each researcher's progress, and the meetings seem to be an efficient way to follow their work. This control is more a coordination of group-research than a check of the researchers' work. Two factors seem very important to explain the linguistics research teams' cohesion:

- (1) They are highly involved in teaching; some of them are the only ones in France to teach a specific subject. This strengthens the researchers' feeling of belonging to a group and their level of involvement.
- (2) Linguistics is not a very well known field of research; there are few contracts and grants, and this prevents teams from having scattered interests. Hence, they focus on a topic of research and develop it.

D.3. Competition -

There is a tendancy among research teams' heads to say that there is no scientific competition between researchers because research subjects are very specific and each one has its own research. Therefore, very well-defined research subjects seem to avoid competition between researchers. But competition does exist when several researchers of the same team apply for promotion inside C.N.R.S. This institutional competition is likely to give rise to scientific competition.

E - TEAMS' PRODUCTIVITY -

As teams are very specialized, many of them have their own "series of books" and regularly publish a volume. Some of them publish a quarterly review and this also seems to be a good way to strengthen the group's ties.

Many of the "oldest" teams organize conferences by themselves, lasting one or several days on a national or international scale. They do not often go to international conferences abroad, because they do not receive enough financial support. Futhermore, teams' productivity has to be considered, taking into account team date of creation and its membership. Productivity evaluated by the number of articles is low for young teams that only have teaching-researchers whose main concern is to complete their "Doctorat d'Etat". On the other hand, C.N.R.S. researchers, in order to get promotion, are rated on the basis of their publications and are, therefore, more stimulated to publish.

To sum up, three comments have to be made:

- (1) Linguistics is a new science, and most of its research is in its very first stage. Moreover, linguistics is still defining its field and its limits.
- (2) Scientific approaches are very different. On one hand, for ethnolinguistics, hypotheses are regarded as reducing the research perspectives. Field work always has a priority over theoretical work and researchers have to be very open to it. Therefore, research is basically descriptive and investigation designed to get data. On the other hand, theoretical linguistics uses theoretical frameworks and hypotheses in order to study language as a scientific

fact whose development obeys strict rules. It tries also to build a unique methodology which may be used to analyze language content and will be applied to any kind of language such as the language of politics, adversiting, sciences, etc.

- (3) However, research teams are highly structured. This can be explained by three factors:
 - (a) Many of the teams are the only ones expert in their field in France, often in Europe. Therefore, they have to rely on their own group for exchange of ideas.
 - (b) As a consequence, they are involved in a lot of teaching activities, in various institutions.
 - (c) Many of them publish their own review or are editors of "series", publishing one or several books each year.

This inward orientation, together with the weakness of the head's position, leads to a social climate within the team characterized by a strong cohesion and a feeling of isolation in the scientific world. Norm's for "good" research or "productive" research projects are developed within the team, opening the way to conflicts with the hierarchy of the "mother organizations", - Universities or C.N.R.S.

Thirteen research teams were contacted. Several others refused to participate, because they were loose groups. Their head said he had nothing to say, except that there were a few meetings each year, researchers keeping in touch with each other mainly by mail. Five heads could not be surveyed: three were working abroad, doing field researchs, and two of them, very well known, had very efficient gatekeepers who made the appointments impossible during the four-month data gathering periode. Among the research teams actually surveyed, seven were interviewed by telephone, six by face-to-face interviews.

A - THE ORGANIZATIONAL CONDITIONS -

A.1. Affiliation -

Among the thirteen teams surveyed, seven are C.N.R.S. laboratories, five are "associate laboratories", two are "Laboratoires propres") and one is an E.R.A. (associate research unit), which belongs to the Institute of Art and Archaeology.

Most of these teams are also affiliated with other research organizations. One even has three affiliations: C.N.R.S., E.H.E.S.S. and Collège de France. four have two affiliations (C.N.R.S. and Musée de l'Homme); five have two affiliations (E.H.E.S.S. and C.N.R.S.); and three are affiliated both with University and C.N.R.S.. Moreover, every head of team teaches at least in one university.

Some teams have offices in several different places in Paris such as Collège de France and E.H.E.S.S., and the biggest one is creating a second unit in south of France. Every team affiliated with a Museum (Musée de l'Homme or Musée des Antiquités Nationales or Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires) has space in the museum buildings. Two teams only are situated in universities, four in E.H.E.S.S. buildings and the other ones, in Museums or sharing several locations.

As to head's affiliation, five are university or Collège de France professors, one is Director of Study (E.H.E.S.S.), Six are top-level C.N.R.S. researchers, one is "conservateur", the highest position in a Museum.

Research teams affiliation is summarized in Table 3:

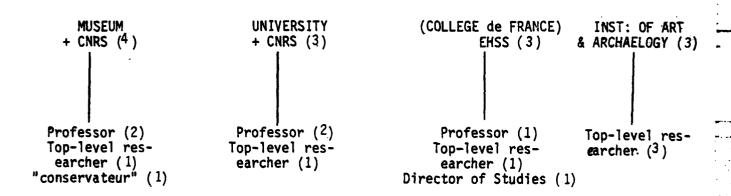


TABLE 3: AFFILIATION OF RESEARCH TEAMS IN ETHNOLOGY AND LEADERS' POSITIONS

A.2. Teams' size -

Research teams in ethnology are fairly large. Two have 50 and 59 people, two are between 30 and 40, three are between 20 and 30, four are between ten and 20, and only two are less than ten. Irregular members have not been taken

into account, even though researchers belonging to other research teams or to different fields work on specific research with the teams surveyed. In addition, all these teams are very active teaching units. Many professors and research workers are related to these teams, even if they do not have a strict connection with them.

All these teams have C.N.R.S. researchers. Their number goes from three to 26. Six teams have less than ten researchers, four have between ten and 20, and three have more than 20. One team does not have any teaching personnel, and it is specialized in archeology. Four teams do not have any ITA (technician), but some of them have technicians who belong to other organizations, such as museums. It has to be noted that Musées de France have their "own membership", "conservateurs", and technicians. For instance, one team has ten ITA who are affiliated with Musées de France and whose main activity is to deal with archives. There are very few foreign researchers, but some foreign professors keep regular contacts with the teams.

Some remarks have to be made about the biggest teams. Two have more than 50 people. One of them started in 1940 and became active immediately after the Second World War. It is really the heart of Franch ethnology, affiliated with both C.N.R.S. and Musées de France. The other one started in 1962, 20 years ago, as a RCP with seminars for Doctorate studies. We must, therefore, underline the fact that the biggest teams are the oldest and were active in research and in teaching even before they obtained affiliation with the C.N.R.S.

To summarize, research teams in ethnology are big, and most of them are the only teams in France specialized in their research field. Thus, they are very involved in teaching activities, and every research worker interested in this field has some kind of affiliation with them.

A.3. Researchers' training -

Research workers in ethnology have all kinds of previous training. All the teams' heads agree that the best training is the thesis for doctorate of 3ème cycle for which future researchers have to complete a field research. Most of them have learned at least one other language. Some of them have a double training, for instance, history and ethnology, or economics and ethnology, and apply it to the geographic area in which they specialized. Some teams have physicians or specialists in natural sciences, statistics, anthropology, sociology or psychology. Other teams have specialists in history, philosophy, music, linguistics and art history. Researchers' training in archaelogy is more focused on archaelogy and history. Most of the researchers got their training from E.H.E.S.S. and universities.

A.4. Researchers' age -

Researchers' and heads' age can be classified under three categories: (1) The team's head is near retirement and the researchers' ages range between 35-40 to 60;

(2) The team's head is young (around 40-45); he has been recently appointed and researchers of all ages are to be found in his/her team;

(3) The team's head is young (about 45) and most of the researchers are younger (under 40). In that case, the team is usually young, also having been created in the last five years.

A.5. Membership sex -

Among the thirteen teams surveyed, three are run by a woman. In teams where archaeology is prevalent, research workers are more often men than women. In the

other ones, there is no rule. Some of them have more women, some of them have more men. But this breakdown does not result from a conscious choice. All the heads of teams interviewed agree that sex is never a criterion when hiring a new research worker. Furthermore, in ethnology, husband and wife often do research on the same geographic area with different research subjects.

A.6. For how long has the team been in operation?

The oldest teams are 40 years old and started as teams affiliated with Musées de France, then became RCP, ERA and LA or LP. Some teams are ten or fifteen years old, and others are less than ten years. The youngest started in 1973 as a research team affiliated with E.H.E.S.S. and got affiliation with C.N.R.S. very recently.

To summarize, most of the research teams in ethnology are "mature" and big. Teams which started 20 or 40 years ago grew and did <u>not</u> divide themselves into several small ones. It can be assumed that this organizational structure fits their specificity and the high specialization in one geographic area. Training in ethnology is time consuming, since researchers are required to handle field research and get additional training in linguistics. Heads of teams agree that a 35 year-old researcher is a "young" one.

B - THE HEURISTIC PROCESS -

The main characteristic of the heuristic process in ethnology research is the researcher's personal involvement in his (her) field. The success of the research is determined, first of all, by the researcher's ability to make himself (herself) accepted by the people whom he (she) studied.

The very great importance of field work decreases the relative interest given to theoretical models and hypotheses. A new research begins with a list of questions but without any well-defined hypotheses. Most of the time, the main aim of researchers is to explore geographical areas still unstudied.

Usually, each team is specialized in a particular geographical area. However, some of them do research in several areas such as Africa. North or South America, West Indies. In that case, they usually study one topic in different locations in order to compare data. This is the case of the "oldest" teams, who started with one area, and, as they grew, extended their methodology to new ones. The theoretical paradigm used seems limited to the application of concepts developed in previous research. Ethnology, which is considered a new science, has to build a theoretical language common to ethnologists. For the present time, all of them use the same methodology, which is active observation. All the heads we interviewed strongly emphasized the importance of good involvement in his (her) field for the researcher to be successful. This obviously means not only acceptance by the autochthon but also an insight into their culture.

Why do researchers limit themselves to one or two fields? Most of the heads did say that all their researchers study one field and spend a life-time on it. However, some of them think it is better to work on two border-line fields, so that each one helps in study of the other through comparisons.

The teams' heads also point out the importance of personal and intellectual qualities: researchers have to be ready to grasp all opportunities, very open-minded towards their field, and not too much oriented by their

training. They emphasized also the fact that researchers are alone "in the field" for long periods and have to be able to cope with this loneliness.

To summarize, in ethnology, "field" is a concept always prevalent, and ethnologists have to be devoted to it. Research is organized according to geographical delimitation but also to themes and subjects, which are studied simultaneously in several areas. Finally, it can be said that ethnology is much more concerned which a qualitative approach than a quantitative one. One can't help feeling that approaching a field of research with a prefigured hypothesis is considered here as a prejudice destroying the ability to understand the field characteristics. Ethnology is certainly a domain of research where a strong work involvement is the rule. It is not possible for a researcher to work on office hours and close his files on week-ends; his (her) life is closely mixed with his (her) research.

C - RESEARCH CHARACTERISTICS -

C.1. One single field or multidisciplinary research?

Research teams in ethnology gather researchers who, in addition to ethnology, are trained in different disciplines. Hence, teams have specialists in history, geography, medicine, sociology, botany, music and so forth. It seems that ethnology is, by itself, a "multidisciplinary" domain. Statistics are not very much used except in one team doing anthropology research, when the head requires that researchers handle statistics. It is true that, contrary to most of the teams, they study large samples.

C.2. Individual or group research -

Researchers are alone "in their field", and as it has been said, it is their personal involvement which makes the research successful. Heads of laboratory agree

that several researchers working together at the same time in the same field never obtain "good" results. But some of them said that having several researchers in the same field in succession with different perspectives of research is very productive: each researcher studies "the field" from his/her own point of reference, and the different results fit with one another. The only condition is that different researchers must not be "in the field" at the same time. Yet, when they come back, they do need to meet with colleagues and talk about their research, present the results, and submit them to criticism. Thus, meetings and discussions inside the team fill one need: help the research workers to look objectively at their results and to structure their material.

C.3. Basic research or grant research?

Grants are very unusual in ethnology; moreover, as it has been said already, researchers study the same field during all their life and are not ready to change their aim in order to follow grants offers. It is very unusual that a researcher works in two fields situated in two different continents. Field constraints rules research and the way it grows. Therefore, the main problem for research teams in ethnology is to get support for travel since researchers very often have to remain in the field for 2-3 months at a time.

C.4. Using existing data or building new data?

Ethnologists obtain their own data; here again, the researchers' personal involvement is very important. Information they are able to pick up will be determined by the way they are accepted by the group and manage to be integrated into it. Some research is done on archives, but most of the time, research workers use "natives" (called "informateurs") who help them not only to understand

the dialects but also to get introduced to the people they study. The length of stay in the field is a function of many factors. First, of course, is the support that the researcher gets. Secondly, the country; 6-12 months may be required in an "exotic" field, whereas two months in a region of France are enough for French researchers. However, some heads of laboratories think that, for their first trip, researchers have to stay in the field at least ten months for the study to be fruitful.

In conclusion, the individual researcher's personal involvement and relationship to the field has to be emphasized as a key-point. The quality and success of research is determined by the quality of the researcher's relation with the field. Researchers work by themselves, since they have their own field, and until now, respect of each researcher's field has been an informal but well-respected rule.

D - THE TEAMS' MANAGEMENT -

D.1. Frequency of meetings -

Research teams do not have regular meetings, and the main reason is that researchers are often away. Therefore, regular meetings would not make sense. The biggest teams have a large board meeting twice a year, whose aim is to allocate supports for field trips. In addition, they usually have a scientific meeting at the beginning of the University-year (October) to define research areas and present current research projects.

Inside the biggest teams, some smaller groups organize their own meetings, sometimes as often as once a month. In several laboratories, after having tried

to organize regular meetings, it was decided to give them up because it was felt that informal meetings were more effective.

In addition, most of the teams have teaching seminars which are really research seminars attended by students who work for their "Doctorat de 3ème cycle" as well as by researchers. Those seminars usually meet once every two weeks between October and May. They are important, because all researchers know that if they need to meet with the team's head, they can see him (her) before or after the seminar.

D.2. Are researchers controlled?

The very well-defined delimitation of researcher's fields makes any control from the team's heads, very difficult. Most of the heads said it is not their duty to control the researchers' work after they have completed their Doctorat de 3ème cycle. Sometimes they advise them about field problems, but they never impose their opinions against an orientation chosen by a researcher. All of them agree that there is a very personal link between a researcher and his field, so that nobody, except the researcher himself (herself), is able to assess his (her) work.

D.3. Competition -

Competition does not exist at all between researchers in ethnology, since each has his own field. There is of course an institutional competition when several researchers, belonging to the same team, apply for promotion in C.N.R.S., but most of the researchers have an academic position and do not need to get this type of promotion.

E - THE TEAMS' PRODUCTIVITY -

The biggest and "oldest" teams publish their own review or "series" or "bulletin". They also publish books with several authors. Most of the heads interviewed felt that international conferences have no scientific interest. They do attend, in order to make their work known, but they prefer small meetings and colloquia, where only specialists of a field meet together. Most of the publications -articles, papers- are signed by one person, the researcher himself.

To summarize, research teams in ethnology are big, but it does not mean that researchers work together. Teams gather individual researchers who work in their own field and do not intrude into other's fields. Researcher's personal involvement is the main characteristic; and requirement in ethnology. A head's comment can help to understand integration of individual researchers into a team: "The research team has to allow researchers to adopt an objective attitude above their own field and results through discussion with their colleagues. Team work is, therefore, a necessity, not as a basis for collective work, but as a social structure where everybody expects colleagues' expert interest for his work and is ready to listen to colleague's work and results.

III - THE CRITERION PROBLEMS

In the research on bio-medical laboratories (reprint enclosed as annex 3), we were able to build an aggregate index of "success" for the various laboratories. Measuring individual achievement in a research activity is a difficult task: many examples can be quoted in the history of sciences where an important discovery remained unknown and his author did not received during his life either the prestige or the rewards he deserved. In other words, research evaluation is strongly subjective and submitted to social factors. The difficulty is doubled when we try to evaluate a team's achievement, which means the collective work of a group of people whose activities would be difficult to rate objectively, one by one. With great care, we undertook in the previous research, about bio-medical research, to gather four categories of success criteria:

- 1) <u>peer quotations</u>: each laboratory head interviewed was asked to name three French laboratories which he could be rate as the best in his field.
- 2) <u>Invitations</u> to colloquium addressed to members of the laboratories
 - 3) participation in International conventions
- 4) Number of $\underline{publications}$ prepared in the laboratory in the preceding two years.

It is easy to find faults and to criticize each of those four criteria. However, for the 155 laboratories in the sample, correlations between the four criteria were significant (between: .33 and .45; cf. table IV in annex 3). Therefore we were able to propose a classification of the laboratories into five groups, going from Group V (the best: laboratories often quoted by peers and receiving many invitations) to GroupI (the less good: laboratories never quoted and never invited). In between these two extremes, we find Group II: laboratories never quoted, and the director only being sometimes

invited; Group III: laboratories never quoted but having more invitations and Group IV: laboratories quoted once at least. Moreover, we observed that the number of publications increased regularly from Group I to Group V (cf. Fig. 1, Annex 3) as well as attendance in International Conferences (cf. Fig. 2, Annex 3).

The situation is quite different in the present survey. First of all, we have seen how difficult it is for members of research laboratories to find funding for their travel costs in order to attend international conferences. Taking into account the present economic circumstances, money for travel expenses is more and more restricted only to well known people in the field. It is true that some scholars try to pay for such trips out of their own resources, planning their holidays in the country where the conference is taking place. This is not possible for the young researchers, who often have low salaries and young children. Without going into more detail, it is obvious that participation in conferences and congresses cannot be considered as a reliable index of the laboratory success and achievement.

Quotations by peers are no better. Most of the laboratories surveyed are active in a very nari... field, so when asked to name the best French laboratory in the same field, they have none to cite. If they are asked to name a laboratory in a related field, they tend usually to choose a team working on the same topic within a different frame of reference. For instance, the head of a research laboratory specializing in linguistic studies for the Latin American countries will know a lot about the activities of economists, geographers, sociologists active in the same country, but not much about the work of linguists studying west Indian or central African languages. As a result, they will understand "related field" in a broad way, and the laboratory quoted will actually be outside the domain of linguistics itself. This fact must be

remembered, as it shows how coarse is our classification of social sciences and how far it is from the real network of interests and activities.

A third possibility had to be discarded as well. Colloquia and seminars are usually events organized on a small scale and restricted to well known and active scholars. Invitations to attend such meetings may be considered as a success criterion and they were strongly correlated with the other criteria in the bio-medical field. The situation is quite different here. Because there are no private sponsors (such as pharmacy companies) to support such meetings, they have to be funded by public bodies or by foundations. Therefore, the frequency of these events is much lower than in the medical field. For instance, in one year, for one field, it is quite possible that not a single symposium will be organized. The question about how many research workers in a team attend such meetings each year is, consequently, meaningless. Moreover, we have seen that work in linguistics and in ethnology has to be done "in the field", which means that priority would be given to field trip over research meetings.

We are now left with only one type of success criterion, the amount of published work. We tried to check this criterion with great care. First, we asked the sponsoring organization of each laboratory (CNRS, EHSS, University, INSEE...) for a list of publications for each laboratory for the last three years. The list was then classified into books, papers and mimeographed reports. In order to have as objective a measure as possible, we decided to give each laboratory three points for a book having more than 100 pages, two points for a slimmer book or monograph, and one point for a paper. We dismissed one- or two- pages notes and mimeographed reports. Also, we checked the list of reviews and kept in our figures only reviews having a clear referee policy and being explicitly accepted as "scientific publications" by the committee of the National Scientific Research Center in each of the fields considered.

The total number of points was then divided by three, in order to get a yearly mean for each laboratory. This mean was again divided by the number of permanent research workers so as to obtain a yearly mean of publications per head. The result goes from 1.8 to 2.9, showing rather limited variations between teams (standard deviation = .4). If we look carefully at the data, different characteristics in the rhythm of publications explain this fact. First, research workers may spend a certain time writing a book of preparing their thesis, or even working in the the field to gather data. During that time, they will not publish papers. Secondly, the concept of "article" or "paper" remains very loose, even with the limitations we described. It can be a fairly long and elaborate paper with description of facts and data which took several years to gather and process. It can be, as well, a review of the literature on a specific topic or a short note describing a piece of research. Also, when a review publishes a special issue, well known researchers are asked to submit papers which can be remakes of previous work. All in all, adding all these items cannot lead to a reliable index.

This is why, in order to try and get a better picture of the scientific production achieved by each team, we studied the possibility of another index based not on published work but on quotations in published work. A test of this index was made for the field of linguistics. We took the list of reviews previously used and content-analyzed five years of publications, looking for quotations by colleagues of researchers' names or printed work, as the list of names to look for nearly reached 300, and 22 reviews (French and foreign) were analyzed. This means around 50,000 printed pages were examined. Figures for each laboratory were processed with the rationale used previously for the amount of published work: a mean per year and per head was calculated as a "quotation index" for each of the 16 teams.

Figures describing the quotation index are between .4 and 6.4 (mean per head and per year) with a standard deviation reaching 2.1. Quotation numbers are fairly different from one year to another. When one looks at the data in detail, it is clear that a key paper may have a strong impact on the field and be quoted very often during two years, raising the team's mean for these two years. Also, a textbook or a new methodology giving technical descriptions or even describing the state of the art on a specific topic will be heavily quoted for a while, until new developments make it obsolete.

All these comments explain why the correlation between the two indices $^{(1)}$ (quotation index and publication index) is low (.18), and does not suggest the possibility of aggregating these indices as we were able to do in the biomedical field.

The effort to build a reliable aggregate index of productvity in the social sciences, and an index which could be used in different domains (as we did in the bio-medical field) did not lead us to satisfactory results. This failure, as well as the heterogeneity of the different research processes, outcomes, and social structures of the teams will be discussed in the conclusion.

⁽¹⁾ Calculated only for the linguistics laboratories.

CONCLUSION

A major aim of the present research (following the results of the earlier "research on bio-medical research" (cf. annex 3) was to explore whether the four conclusions reached in the bio-medical field apply to social sciences as well. These were:

- (1) The style of leardership is a powerful determinant of the team's success. A participation climate associated with a high level of structure in research planning and control within the team is to be found in the best laboratories. When "no participation and no structure" is the rule, a lack of consideration for the researcher' professional and personal problems make things worse.
- (2) Various heuristic processes are to be found in different subfields of bio-medical research. Research is either clinical, collecting specific cases and building knowledge on repeated observations or fundamental. In the last case, the heuristic process is more sophisticated. It starts with a proposed model, which is usually a synthesis of several abstract hypotheses. Moreover in most of the laboratories developing this type of fundamental research, various fields of knowledge (Physics, chemistry, biology, pharmacology, statistics...) are used in each single model and in each single experiment. Clinical research is nearly always monodisciplinary, describing cases from one specific angle (ie. research in anatomy; in forensic medicine, in applied pharmacology).
- (3) The heuristic process is one of the determinants of the social characteristics of the team: we did bring statistical proof of the relationship between participation and formal controls on one hand, and the heuristic process on another hand. Clinical research seems to develop a climate of low participation and weak control; while fundamental (and abstract-modeling, multidisciplinary) research develops a climate of both active participation and close control.

(4) The size of the laboratory as well as the heterogeneity of the staff members' training and present status are closely linked with the social relationship between the leader and the researchers. Large laboratories, with a high proportion of full-time researchers are characterized by a high level of consideration in the leader's style. The contrary is observed when the team is small and a large proportion of the researchers are doctoral students or part time research workers.

We planned to take each one of these conclusions and see if it is valid in the social sciences. The nature of the data prevented us from testing directly these hypotheses. However, if we consider social sciences as representing an extreme case in the domain classification used for bio-medical research, the leadership style which seems to be prevailing in the social sciences is coherent with the main conclusions of the research on bio-medical research. Therefore, in this conclusion we will first describe the common features of leadership behavior in the social sciences, and analyze them in the frame of reference of the classical descriptions of leader power. Afterwards, it will be possible to compare leadership style here and in the bio-medical field and to comment the lack of coherent success index.

Our first point will look provocative. We did not describe a variety of leadership styles in the social sciences because, in the three domains of linguistics, ethnology and economics, it is not possible to act as a leader, at least within the organizational structure of research activities in this country.

Let 4.5 first look at the social and occupational characteristics common to the three fields. Descriptions of each situation, given in the preceding chapters, may be summarized in six remarks.

- (a) There are none, or very few, laboratory meetings. When such meetings exist, they are devoted to exchange of information. In one case, the head of the laboratory does <u>not</u> attend occasional meetings and relies on his researchers to inform him "if an important question is raised" !... Nowhere, such a thing as participation in decisions linked with the laboratory life appears on the rare meetings agenda.
- (b) Social organization of the teams are loose. Contacts are mostly informal and exist only if there is a spatial proximity. Even in the large laboratories, one does not find a breakdown into smaller teams with common interests. Contacts are mostly person to person.
- (c) Research topics are usually very specific. They are choosen by each research worker early in his (her) career and usually kept for a long while. Therefore, few decisions have to be taken about common research programs or new orientations. Evidently the narrowness of each researcher's interest increases both his (her) autonomy (nobody is really "competent" in "his" field) as well as his (her) loneliness.
- (d) Research is often done outside, in the field. When coming back from "the field" where he gathered data, the researcher needs very little support to process his (her) data. In economy, data processing by computer is the rule; in linguistics and ethnology, it is often used. However, in all these cases, computer processing has to be prepared by a long and complicated treatment of these data which cannot be done by anybody else than the researcher himself (or herself).
- (e) Very few grants, or request for proposals are available in the three fields considered. When outside financial support is awarded to a laboratory, it is usually because the research activities developed in this laboratory are of interest to an outside organization who is willing to give money in order to speed up the work and give priority to a specific problem. But researchers themselves rarely have

to adapt their interest to outside orientations.

(f) All the teams and laboratories are mono-disciplinary. Except for some statisticians working as specialized technicians in a team, one does not find in the research programs a coordinated effort coming, for example, from a linguist, an ethnologist, a geographer. As it has been said in the preceding chapter, different specialists working on the same culture, or the same part of the world will occasionnaly wish to meet with colleagues developing another approach on the same culture, or the same area. But these contacts are easier to organize in the field than in laboratories scattered all over the country. Taking into account these features, common to the three fields studied, it is now possible to describe the leaders role. In a seminal paper, published in 1959, French and Raven gave a list of the different types of power available to a leader. Situational variables as determinant: of the effectiveness of a given leadership style are key factors in Fiedler's contingency model (1967) and in Vroom and Yetton contingency theory (1975). French and Raven proposed five kinds of power. Are these kinds of power available to heads of laboratories in the social sciences? The first two kinds deal with reward and punishments (Reward power, Coercive power). If we remember that promotion of a research worker is decided by a national committee of experts, as well as renewal of a research worker's job, it is obvious that very little reward or punishment is in the hand of a laboratory head. Even travel money allocation to researchers is outside its prerogative as this money is distributed again by national committees and the laboratory director only plays an administrative role in checking that the money is used properly.

The third kind of power in French and Raven's classification is called <u>Legitimate power</u>: it is the right of a leader to influence a subordinate and the obligation of subordinates to accept this influence. The relationships between researchers

and heads of their laboratories are quite different here. They behave as colleagues rather than master-servant and most of the time, heads of laboratories acknowledged this situation when they say that they have an authority over the Ph.D. students working in the laboratory, but not on the researchers who have proved their ability to do research work in their thesis and, any way, are now working in a specific field which is not well known of the laboratory director. This lack of authority is in great part due to the fact that methodology is usually simple and requires neither heavy investment in equipment nor careful choice based on previous experience.

The fourth kind of power is called <u>Referent power</u> by French and Raven and defined as "the identification of the subordinate with the superior": the subordinate accepts the leader's goal as its own. Recently, following this idea, Weiss (1977) has shown that subordinates tend to imitate the leader's behavior when they view him as being both competent and successful. This type of referent power exists, in a slightly different version in some of the laboratories. First because the laboratory head's prestige and international fame is, up to a certain point, shared by his (her) researchers; secondly because his (or her) influence is useful for the young researchers when they look for foreign contacts, publishers, invitations to colloquium etc... However this type of power does not develop group cohesion but increases individual (leader with each researcher) relationships.

The fifth kind of power called <u>Expert power</u> in French and Raven's classification is equivalent to the concept of charisma or magnetism. We have seen how limited is, in reality, this type of influence because of the geographical autonomy and narrowness of field for each of the research workers. Even for the most famous among the social scientists interviewed, it is obvious that they do not initiate authoritorian relationship on the work of their researchers. They wait to be asked an

advice or an opinion which is usually followed because it is a good advice and not because their leader position is based on expertise. When the laboratory's head is younger, this charisma rarely exists and we have several times observe their discouragment: without any real control of the work actually done, they have to spend part of their time on administrative tasks, without any kind of reward for themselves.

Last, -but not least-, the difficulties we have met, when we tried to build a success index for the laboratories are well known by the heads of laboratories. It is very difficult for them to give each of their researchers a feedback of their own achievment, based on objective data. If we wish to use Fielder's vocabulary, the task of the researcher is too little structured to allow such feedbacks. Fiedler proposed four scales to evaluate the structure of a task; these scales are:

- . decision verifiability (the degree to which the correctness of a solution or decision can be verified)
- . goal clarity (the degree to which task requirements are clearly stated)
- . goal path multiplicity (the number of different ways a problem can be solved)
- . solution specificity (is there more than one correct solution).

Social sciences are rather young; their methodology remains an open issue, with opinions strongly different and not yet tested by a long experience. Decision verifiability is difficult as it is never possible to replicate a research program and evaluation is a precarious process. So, even if the goal is sometimes clear, the three other items describing (according to Fiedler) the structure of the task shows this structure to be low in the social sciences. Which means that the leader role is always difficult and often impossible to fulfile.

All these reasons explain why there is no real leadership activities in the fields studied. Therefore, it is difficult to speak of a "leadership style". Morover, the loose social structure, the rare meetings, and the weak relationship between most of the laboratory heads and their researchers allow us to say that in all the cases studied, consideration, as well as control are low. We have seen how and why, each researcher's autonomy is large and the influence of the leader on research planning, very weak.

If we wish to compare this situation with the bio-medical field characteristics, it is obvious that the constraints of research in the social sciences are fairly close to what we observed for the subgroup of clinical, monodisciplinary, non modelling domains of research in the bio-medical field. In order to remind the reader of its conclusions, we can say that the preceding research showed that (1) a leadership style characterized by low consideration and by low control in the same time, is determined by the heuristic process and frequent in clinical research, with no abstract hypothesis, no models, no multi-disciplinary research. And (2) that it is also strongly associated with a low position in the "success typology".

The results described here fit with the first part of the preceding conclusions. We have seen that the social sciences laboratory are characterized both by low consideration and low control and that this situation is not the result of a free choice made by the leader but is a consequence of the research constraints. As we do not have an objective success index, it is impossible to test the second part of the hypothesis i.e. low consideration and low control are a cause of under achievment. At least we can imagine that the lack of social relationships and firm control do not help the social sciences development and observe that they developed more quickly wherever they dispose of a methodology and they need equipment.

As a last remark, we wish to note that the situation of the leader in the social sciences, and the real difficulties he lives through when he tries to support his researchers and influence their work have an important but unexpected consequence. Director of laboratory's position are not desired by the well known scholars in the field. Some of them explained that this job is purely formal and administrative; one should therefore devote his time to research, lectures and bookwriting. Moreover several heads of laboratories expressed their wish to be relieved of this extraload of work which they see as uninteresting and without any profit for their careers. This allows us to wonder, as a provisional conclusion for the survey presented here if it is possible to be the leader of a research laboratory in the social sciences?

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INTERVIEW GUIDELINES

- 1) Definition of the domain of research. What are the main activities of your research team? How do you determine your themes of research?
- 2) Which type of data do you use in your research? Given data or built by researchers? Quantitative or qualitative? When you start a research do you state theoretical hypotheses or do you have just a theoretical framework? Does a feedback from the field happen to change these hypotheses?
- 3) Could you define the methodology the research team employs?
- 4) What is the mean time between a starting research and the first results?
- 5) Are researchers personally involved in the scientific process?
- 6) Has your team been involved in international research programs?
- 7) What is the teams' size? Could you describe its membership: researchers, technicians, teaching researchers, non-permanent researchers? What is the proportion of women? The researchers' age? How long have your researchers been working with you? What is the researchers' training? How are researches divided among team's membership? Does your team receive foreign researchers?
- 8) How long has your team been existing?
- 9) Are there team meetings? What is their purpose? How many times do they take place? Do you think they are very useful?
- 10) Which possibilities have your researchers to meet you?
- 11) How do you control researchers' work? Through oral or written reports?
- 12) Do you think there is solidarity between researchers? and competition?
- 13) Is the team's repute a factor of satisfaction for researchers?
- 14) Are there inside the team, different research groups or groups which constitute just for one research? Are there solitary researchers?
- 15) Does your team happen to collaborate with another research team?
- 16) How many publications -articles, books, papers at conferences- did your team issue in the last two years? Are publications signed by several people?
- 17) Participation in Conferences. Who goes to conferences and how many times a-year? Do you participate in International Conferences or smaller meetings where there is just a group of experts?
- 18) What requirements do you think researchers must fit to work in your team?
- 19) Could you indicate which proportion of "good" researchers you have in your team?
- 20) What is your main concern for the future?

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CARACTÉRISTIQUES ORGANISATIONNELLES, STYLE DE LEADERSHIP ET RÉUSSITE DANS LA RECHERCHE BIO-MÉDIÇALE

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SUMMARY

The Heads of the laboratories belonging to INSERM, Institut Pasteur and Université René Descartes and working in bio-medical research were interviewed by telephone or directly. Data can be classified into three categories: success criteria, characteristics of the laboratory, leadership style. Results show:

- 1) A clear relation between the domain of research (and the heuristic style) and the style of leadership observed.
- 2) A strong relationship between success and a style of leadership characterized by participation and structure.

Moreover, when there is a lack of researchers participation and of structure, absence of consideration decreases chances of success.

Les problèmes posés par l'efficacité de la recherche sont à l'ordre du jour : comment, sur quels critères, recruter des chercheurs? Quelle formation leur donner? En fonction de quoi

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décider de leur promotion? Fixer leurs conditions de travail? Sur quelles bases leur attribuer des moyens? En fait, tout le monde semble s'accorder, au moins implicitement, sur deux points : pas de bonne recherche sans « bons » chercheurs, pas de bonne recherche sans « de bonnes » conditions de travail. De plus, implicitement au moins, on reconnaît également que ces problèmes de personnel ne peuvent pas être traités, dans le cas de la recherche, comme on les traiterait s'il s'agissait de production, de service ou d'activités commerciales. Autrement dit, on reconnaît que la nature des objectifs et des contraintes organisationnelles doivent déterminer le style d'encadrement et les règles de carrière; bref que ces problèmes peuvent et doivent être posés dans la perspective adoptée par les sciences sociales de l'organisation.

Pourtant, les psychologues, à de rares exceptions près (Bass, 1974, Kerr, 1974 et Korman, 1973) n'ont été intéressés que par l'aspect individuel des problèmes posés par les activités de recherches. Notamment, ils ont cherché à identifier, sous le nom de créativité, l'aptitude à innover et ils ont proposé aussi bien des techniques pour la mesurer que des méthodes pédagogiques pour la développer.

En réalité, qu'on aborde le problème sous l'angle organisationnel ou sous l'angle individuel ou encore qu'on tente de les concilier, la « recherche sur la recherche » suppose qu'on ait élaboré un (ou des) critère(s) objectif(s) et fiable(s) permettant de décrire, de classer ou mieux encore de mesurer la réussite des individus et des équipes dans le domaine où ils exercent leurs activités. C'est là précisément que réside l'obstacle auquel se heurtent tous les travaux qui, au-delà d'une description monographique du déroulement et du fonctionnement de tel ou tel secteur de recherches, veulent dégager des relations entre, d'une part, des variables « causales » comme les aptitudes, la formation, les relations interpersonnelles, le style d'encadrement, le climat organisationnel... et, d'autre part, les résultats et la performance des chercheurs et des équipes, — variables « dépendantes ».

Quantifier la performance est toujours difficile, de plus en plus à mesure qu'on s'élève dans l'échelle hiérarchique, et tout particulièrement lorsqu'on doit utiliser des indices de réussite subjectifs, l'évaluation du travail des uns, effectuée par les autres. A ces difficultés, traditionnelles lorsqu'il s'agit de tâches intellectuelles et de haut niveau, s'ajoute une difficulté supplémentaire dans le cas des travaux de recherches, difficulté liée au fait que les conditions scientifiques, heuristiques et techniques sont différentes pour chaque domaine de recherche, voire même pour chaque thème. Il est évident qu'un indicateur de réussite qui ne pourrait pas être

généralisé, qui ne serait valable que pour un nombre de situations extrêmement restreintes, ne permettrait ni d'effectuer des comparaisons, ni de mener des études systématiques. Cette spécificité des conditions organisationnelles de la recherche peut d'ailleurs être analysée et décomposée en quatre aspects : 1) selon les cas, le temps qui s'écoule entre le moment où commence un travail de recherche et le moment où il est susceptible de porter des fruits peut varier considérablement. A cela s'ajoute le fait que, à plus long terme, le temps qui passe et bouleverse les cadres de référence peut modifier l'évaluation des résultats et de leur importance; 2) selon le secteur de recherche considéré, les critères de réussite qui peuvent être retenus sont différents, ainsi que leur importance relative. La même remarque peut être faite selon la finalité des recherches: fondamentale, appliquée à court ou à long terme (3) et selon la nature des objectifs privilégiés par l'organisation de référence et utilisée par elle pour élaborer des décisions concernant les carrières et l'attribution des moyens (4).

Ces remarques ont guidé la recherche présentée ici : en effet, elle se situe dans une perspective résolument organisationnelle tant par le problème posé (décrire des conduites d'encadrement qui favorisent la réussite dans le domaine de la recherche) que par le choix des variables causales (climat social, relations interpersonnelles, style de leadership) et de la variable dépendante (réussite définie au niveau du laboratoire). En outre, nous avons travaillé dans un domaine de recherche homogène et bien délimité, celui de la recherche bio-médicale, et notre enquête a été limitée aux organisations qui appartiennent au secteur public. Enfin, une attention particulière a été apportée d'abord à l'élaboration d'un classement des laboratoires selon leur niveau de réussite, ensuite à l'étude des caractéristiques organisationnelles de ces laboratoires, ceci afin de ne pas confondre diversité du succès et inégalité des moyens et des ressources humaines. Eclairées sur ce point, nous avons alors cherché ce qui, dans le style d'encadrement, différenciait significativement les « bons » et les « moins bons ». Nous décrirons successivement l'échantillon et la méthode d'enquête, l'élaboration des critères de réussite et les résultats obtenus.

I. - L'ÉCHANTILLON ET LES MÉTHODES D'ENQUÊTE

Avant de décrire l'échantillon et les informations recueillies, il est utile de souligner l'exceptionnel pourcentage des réponses obtenues. Sur 155 directeurs de laboratoires faisant partie de l'échantillon initial. 4 seulement ont refusé de répondre. Ce taux de réponse élevé (97 %) tient au succès de la méthode employée

qui sera décrite plus en détail ci-dessous et qui a consisté à utiliser le téléphone comme média pour l'entretien; il tient également à l'intérêt manifesté par nos répondants au sujet des problèmes soulevés dans l'enquête.

Trois organisations ont été choisies pour cette recherche: l'Institut Pasteur, l'INSERM et l'Université René Descartes. Dans les trois cas, le Directeur Général, ou le Président ont été contactés avant le début de l'enquête, le but de la recherche lui a été décrit et son accord a été obtenu. Mais, à dessein, nous ne lui avons pas demandé de présenter notre enquête aux directeurs de laboratoires appartenant à son organisation. En effet, l'enquête aurait alors pu être perçue comme inspirée par la direction et les réponses obtenues auraient été déformées. Nous nous sommes limité à demander la liste des laboratoires appartenant à ces trois organisations; et l'échantillon retenu a été constitué par tous les laboratoires situés dans la région parisienne, 155 au total.

Nous avons ensuite envoyé au directeur de chaque laboratoire une lettre expliquant le but de la recherche et demandant leur coopération pour une interview téléphonique. Parmi les directeurs ainsi contactés, 4 ont refusé, 42 ont indiqué qu'ils préféraient un entretien face à face et 109 ont accepté l'entretien par téléphone. La durée de l'interview a varié de 15 minutes à 1 h 30 (dans le cas des entretiens téléphoniques) et de 30 minutes à 2 heures (dans le cas des entretiens face à face).

Le guide d'entretien figure en annexe 1. Les informations recueillies ont été soumises ensuite à une analyse de contenu dont les têtes de rubrique figurent en annexe 2. Quatre catégories d'information ont été recueillies: 1) des données permettant de construire un critère de succès dans la recherche; 2) des informations sur le style de l'encadrement et le « climat » social du laboratoire; 3) des indications dites « anatomiques » constituant en quelque sorte la fiche d'identité du laboratoire et 4) des informations sur les objectifs et la catégorie de recherche.

Sur les 151 directeurs de laboratoire interrogés, 46 appartiennent à l'Institut Pasteur, 44 à l'Université René Descartes et 61 à l'INSERM. Les laboratoires de l'Université constitués en Unités INSERM ont été classés dans l'échantillon comme laboratoires INSERM. En outre, 15 laboratoires appartiennent également au C.N.R.S. et reçoivent donc un soutien de deux organisations. Le tableau I indique les domaines de recherche des différents laboratoires.

TABLEAU I Domaine de recherche

	Nombi
Immunologie	. 29
Biochimie	. 19
Biologie	. 19
Physiologie	. 15
Virologie	. 13
Bactériologie	. 8
Endocrinologie	
Pharmacologie	. 7
Hématologie	-
Chirurgie et Anatomie	-
Pédiatrie	
Neurologie	. •
Génétique	
Maladies cardio-vasculaires	-
Médecine légale	
	•
Hydrologie	
Gérontologie	. 1

Comment se présente l'échantillon du point de vue des caractéristiques organisationnelles? La taille représente un aspect très discriminant, depuis le petit laboratoire employant un chercheur et deux ou trois techniciens jusqu'à la grande équipe avec trente chercheurs et vingt techniciens. Dans l'ensemble, la moitié des laboratoires de l'échantillon emploient entre 11 et 20 personnes; 20 %, moins de 10, et 30 %, plus de 20.

Nous avons également étudié la composition de l'équipe. Chercheurs et techniciens de tous niveaux ont été classés en huit catégories. Le tableau II indique leur répartition en pourcentage. Les catégories les plus fréquentes sont d'abord les techniciens puis les personnes cumulant une fonction universitaire et hospitalière; ensuite les professeurs d'Université qui font à la fois de la recherche et de l'enseignement, suivis par les chercheurs temps plein et les thésards. Il faut souligner que 20 % des laboratoires sur lesquels l'enquête a été menée ne disposent d'aucun chercheur temps plein : on ne peut manquer de se demander quelles sont les chances de succès d'équipes où personne n'est totalement libéré d'autres charges et capable de se consacrer complètement à la recherche.

Trois autres catégories sont rarement présentes: les stagiaires étrangers, le personnel de bureau (inexistant une fois sur deux) et les techniciens employés à temps partiel. Lorsqu'il n'y a pas de personnel de bureau. l'hôpital dans lequel le laboratoire est situé apporte souvent un soutien. L'étiquette « chercheurs temps plein » correspond à des situations diverses. Il peut s'agir de

TABLEAU II Catégories de personnel (fréquence dans les différents laboratoires)

	Aucun	De 1 à 5	De 6 à 10	Plus de 10
Techniciens temps plein	8,6 %	51,6 %	24 %	16 %
Chercheurs temps plein	20,5 %	43 %	26,5 %	10 %
Thésards	40,4 %	49,6 %	7,3 %	2,6 %
Stagiaires étrangers	61 %	37 %	2 %	_
Hospitalo-Universitaires	66,2 %	21,2 %	8 %	4,6 %
Enseignants chercheurs	89 %	19,2 %	8,6 %	3,3 %
Techniciens temps partiel	91,4 %	8,8 %	_	
Employés de bureau et d'entratien	57 %	40,4 %	2,6 %	

chercheurs appartenant au C.N.R.S. et travaillant dans un laboratoire d'Université: 28,5 % des laboratoires ont de 1 à 3 chercheurs dans cette situation, 23 % en ont plus de 4.

La distribution des âges est conforme à ce qu'on pouvait attendre, la majorité se situant dans la fourchette 30-40 ans. Un point qui mérite d'être relevé, c'est l'âge moyen des hospitalo-universitaires, sensiblement plus élevé que celui des enseignants-chercheurs. Il faut noter également la jeunesse relative des chercheurs et techniciens plein temps (23 % ont moins de 30 ans), fait attribuable au développement de la recherche dans les années 1960-1970.

L'ancienneté dans le laboratoire n'est pas toujours associée à l'âge. C'est, en réalité, une variable complexe. D'une manière générale, les chiffres représentant l'ancienneté donnent une indication sur la mobilité des chercheurs; mais dans la situation économique actuelle où le recrutement des chercheurs est faible, l'instabilité est rare. Toutefois, si on compare l'ancienneté des chercheurs par laboratoire, on peut admettre qu'elle reflète les attitudes du directeur (qui essaye de « garder » son équipe ou qui l'aide à se former en étant mobile) et également l'affiliation des chercheurs à leur laboratoire. Trois types de situation peuvent être observées :

1) des laboratoires «âgés» dont tous les membres ont au moins 5 ans d'ancienneté. Dans certains cas, le laboratoire étant actif depuis longtemps, une forte proportion des chercheurs a plus

de 10 ans d'ancienneté; dans d'autres cas (environ 1/4 de l'échantillon) les plus anciens ont entre 6 et 10 ans de présence.

- 2) des laboratoires « jeunes » où tous les chercheurs ont moins de 5 ans d'ancienneté. Cette catégorie représente 18 % de l'échantillon, presque 1 sur 5.
- 3) dans le reste de l'échantillon (un peu moin de 2/3 des laboratoires), le personnel est d'ancienneté variable : plutôt jeunes (quelques chercheurs très récents, d'autres plus anciens) ou plutôt âgés (l'ancienneté s'étalant de 2 à plus de 10 ans).

Avec quelle fréquence trouve-t-on des femmes parmi les chercheurs? Le personnel technique est presque totalement féminin. Parmi les chercheurs, il y a plus d'hommes que de femmes dans près de la moitié des laboratoires (44,5 %) autant dans 28,4 % des cas et plus de femmes dans 27 % des cas. Certains directeurs interviewés ont d'ailleurs ouvertement admis qu'ils préféraient les chercheurs masculins, moins souvent absents que leurs collègues féminins.

Nous avons également interrogé les directeurs de laboratoire sur la formation universitaire de leurs équipes. Leurs réponses sont rassemblés sur le tableau III qui indique combien de chercheurs de chaque catégorie se trouvent dans les différents laboratoires. Ces chiffres appellent quatre commentaires. Tout d'abord, il faut noter la fréquence des chercheurs ayant une formation seulement scientifique : on les trouve partout et en grand nombre. Deuxièmement, les anciens élèves des Grandes Ecoles, sont absents dans 88 % des laboratoires considérés. Troisièmement, il n'y a aucun médecin dans la moitié des laboratoires bio-médicaux. Il est vrai qu'il s'agit, dans la plupart des cas, de laboratoires poursuivant des recherches fondamentales sans aspect clinique; il est vrai. également que, bien souvent, le directeur du laboratoire a luimême une formation médicale. Quatrièmement, dans un tiers des cas seulement, on trouve des chercheurs possédant une double formation, médicale et scientifique; pourtant la plupart des directeurs interrogés admettent que c'est la meilleure formation pour ce type de recherches.

Les directeurs interviewés ont précisé le type de recherche mené par leur laboratoire. Un sur quatre qualifie ces activités de purement fondamentales, aucun n'emploie le terme « seulement appliquées »; 18.5 % acceptent de dire que leurs recherches sont plus appliquées que fondamentales. Et les autres se répartissent entre plutôt fondamentale (17.2 %) aussi bien appliquée que fondamentale (39.8 %).

TABLEAU III Formation des chercheurs (fréquence dans les différents laboratoires)

Formation	Aucun	Aucun 1 à 5		Plus de 10
Grandes Ecoles	88 %	11,3 %	0,7 %	_
Pharmacie	77 %	17,8 %	5,3 %	_
Médecine	49 %	34,4 %	16,5 %	_
Faculté de Sciences	16,6 %	43,7 %	30,5 %	9,3 %
Faculté de Sciences + Médecine	60,3 %	29 %	10,6 %	_

La même tendance à l'autodéfinition comme fondamentaliste se retrouve dans la définition des objectifs de recherche. Ils sont qualifiés de fondamentaux (comprendre les processus biologiques) une fois sur deux; orientés vers les applications cliniques dans 35,8 % des cas, vers les problèmes médicaux (13,2 %) et seulement 20 % des laboratoires définissent leurs objectifs comme la mise au point de techniques et de matériels originaux.

Parmi les directeurs de laboratoire, nombreux sont ceux qui affirment que la recherche fondamentale est plus prestigieuse et plus séduisante; de ce fait, les jeunes chercheurs sont attirés par les laboratoires où se fait une recherche fondamentale. En outre, les directeurs interrogés pensent que l'approche fondamentale permet d'obtenir des résultats plus rapidement.

L'opposition recherche fondamentale/recherche appliquée apparaît à travers les relations difficiles entre chercheurs « fondamentaux » et « appliqués ». Les premiers considèrent leur activité comme plus intellectuelle, plus scientifique et affichent un certain mépris pour les chercheurs appliqués. Comme nous l'a dit un des directeurs interrogés : « Il y a deux races : les seigneurs et les esclaves; les premiers sont les chercheurs « fondamentaux » qui élaborent des modèles scientifiques et les seconds, les chercheurs « appliqués » qui se bornent à faire des vaccins. »

Certains responsables de laboratoire nous ont dit que leur équipe était partagée en deux groupes : chercheurs non médecins, chercheurs médecins qui ont des responsabilités hospitalières, chaque groupe ayant une forte cohésion interne. Mais d'autres valorisent la recherche appliquée car elle implique plus de responsabilités que la recherche fondamentale et elle permet de voir les résultats de son travail, ce qui lui donne du prix.

II. - LES CRITÈRES DE RÉUSSITE

A partir des informations rassemblées pendant les entretiens, il est possible de définir 6 critères de succès, représentant les activités des laboratoires concernés:

- 1) nombre de fois où le laboratoire a été cité par des collègues en réponse à la question : « A l'exception du vôtre, pouvez-vous citer trois laboratoires de recherche que vous estimez être les meilleurs dans votre discipline en France? »;
 - 2) nombre d'invitations à des colloques;
 - 3) participation à des congrès internationaux:
- 4) publications dans des revues internationales à referees, dans les 2 années précédentes;
- 5) évaluation de la qualité des chercheurs de son laboratoire par le directeur (% de « très bons » et « bons » chercheurs).

La citation par les pairs représente une information intéressante mais qui n'est pas totalement fiable du fait de la rareté de certaines spécialités. Par exemple, un seul laboratoire est spécialisé en hydrologie, un seul en gérontologie, trois en maladies cardio-vasculaires. Ces laboratoires ont évidemment peu de chances d'être cités par leurs collègues, de même spécialité. Ces remarques expliquent que :

69,5 % des laboratoires n'ont jamais été cités;

16,6 % ont été cités une fois:

14 % ont été cités de 2 à 8 fois.

Les invitations à des colloques spécialisés différencient également les laboratoires :

- 23.2 % n'ont aucun chercheur invité;
- 31,1 % ont reçu une (ou des) invitations pour le directeur;
- 41,1 % ont reçu une (ou des) invitations pour le directeur et d'autres chercheurs;
- 4,6 % ont vu tous leurs chercheurs invités au moins une fois.

La participation à un Congrès international est fréquente. Seule une minorité n'a pas ce genre d'activités :

- 6,6 % aucune participation aux Congrès internationaux;
- 9,9 % participation s'il y a financement;
- 40,4 % une participation fréquente:
- 32,5 % participation à tour de rôle de tous les chercheurs;
- 10,6 % participation de tous les chercheurs aux Congrès dans la spécialité du laboratoire.

Le taux de publications varie encore plus fortement: de 0 à 30 dans les deux années précédentes. Ce chiffre est évidemment fortement déterminé par la taille du laboratoire; toutefois, il est difficile de calculer un pourcentage (publications divisées par nombre de chercheurs) compte tenu de la variété des statuts des chercheurs. 14 % ont publié de 0 à 4 articles, 28,5 % entre 5 et 10, 37,7 % de 11 à 20 et 19,8 % plus de 20. Parmi les « fort publieurs » (plus de 11 articles dans les deux dernières années), on trouve évidemment des laboratoires de grande taille, mais il y a des exceptions intéressantes, en général des petites équipes composées de chercheurs plein temps se consacrant à la recherche fondamentale.

L'évaluation globale des chercheurs n'a pas été donnée volontiers par les directeurs. Néanmoins, il est possible de classer leurs réponses en cinq catégories :

La première question qu'il faut poser si on veut utiliser ces critères, c'est l'existence de relations systématiques entre les différents indices. Nous l'avons étudié d'abord pour les indices 1, 2, 3 et 4, l'indice n° 5 étant évidemment d'une nature beaucoup plus subjective. Autre difficulté, tous ces critères (sauf le nombre de publications) donnent lieu à des classifications qualitatives, ce qui rend difficile le calcul de corrélations. Nous avons procédé de la manière suivante : les éventualités correspondant à chaque critère ont été classées du plus mauvais au meilleur, chaque échelon recevant une note chiffrée arbitraire et des corrélations (r de Bravais-Pearson) ont été calculées entre ces chiffres. Il est évident que cette méthode représente une simplification de la réalité; notamment elle suppose que les intervalles entre les éventualités sont égaux. Néanmoins, les résultats sont tellement nets qu'ils retiennent l'attention. En effet, toutes les corrélations calculées sont significatives pour p = .001 ou p = .0001 (tableau IV).

On peut donc affirmer qu'il y a une forte cohérence entre les quatre critères. Toutefois, ils ne sont pas totalement équivalents et ils divisent, chacun, l'échantillon en groupes dissemblables. Aussi, avons-nous classé les 151 laboratoires en 5 sous-groupes, en utilisant deux des critères (citations, invitations à des colloques):

Le groupe 1 (22.5 % de l'échantillon) comprend des laboratoires qui ne sont jamais cités et jamais invités;

TABLEAU IV
Corrélation entre les quatre critères de réussite

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(1) Citation par les pairs		.32*	.42**	.42**
(2) Invitation à des colloques			.36**	.45**
(3) Participation à des Congrès .				.33*
(4) Publications				

p = .001

Le groupe 2 (18,5 % de l'échantillon) comprend des laboratoires qui ne sont jamais cités et où seul le directeur est parfois invité;

Le groupe 3 (28,5 % de l'échantillon) comprend des laboratoires qui ne sont jamais cités et où les chercheurs sont parfois invités;

Le groupe 4 (16,5 % de l'échantillon) comprend des laboratoires cités une fois, avec différentes possibilités d'invitations;

Le groupe 5 (15 % de l'échantillon) comprend des laboratoires cités 2 à 8 fois et où directeurs et chercheurs sont invités.

Cette classification représente évidemment une indication assez grossière de la réussite des laboratoires. De manière à vérifier sa signification, nous avons étudié en détail la distribution des deux autres critères (publications, participations à des Congrès) dans les cinq groupes.

Le nombre de publications croît de manière régulière du groupe 1 au groupe 5 (figure 1). Par exemple, la catégorie « moins de 5 publications dans les 2 années » décroît de 23.5 % (groupe 1) et 21,3 % (groupe 2) à 9,3 % (groupe 3). 8 % (groupe 4) et 4,7 % (groupe 5). A l'autre extrémité de l'échelle, la catégorie « plus de 10 publications » va de 32,3 % (groupe 1) à 49,5 % (groupe 2), 65,2 % (groupe 3), 68 % (groupe 4) et 85,6 % (groupe 5), (figure 1).

Bien que la participation aux Congrès ne soit pas un indice qui inspire grande confiance, la même tendance apparaît, en particulier pour les groupes les moins bons. Ainsi, le pourcentage de laboratoires qui participent seulement lorsqu'ils ont un financement va de 32,3 % (groupe 2) à 0 (groupe 5); alors que les laboratoires envoyant tous leurs chercheurs à tour de rôle va de 14,7 % (groupe 1) à 47.6 % (groupe 5) en augmentant régulièrement (figure 2).

^{··} p = .0001

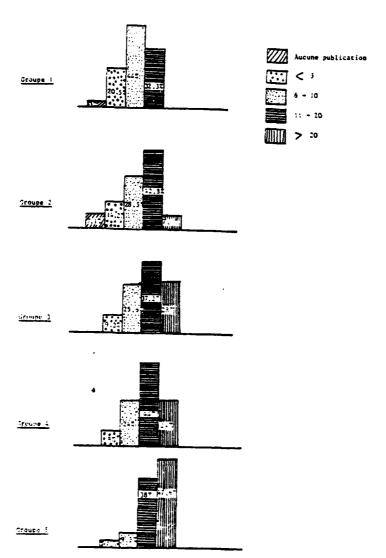


Fig. 1 Publications des différents groupes.

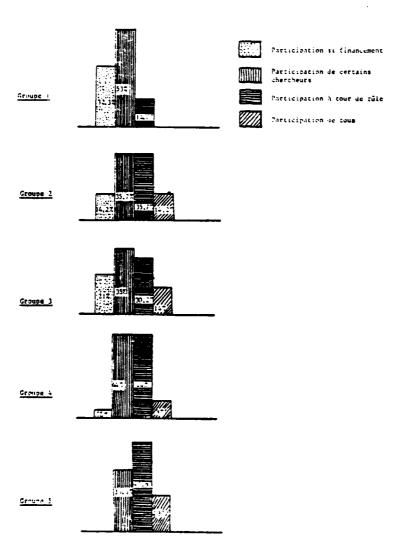


Fig. 2
Participation aux Congrès des différents groupes.

Bref, nous pensons qu'il est légitime d'utiliser cette classification tout en gardant ses limites présentes à l'esprit. Des erreurs de classification sont possibles, du fait des biais introduits par la taille et par le domaine. Mais, dans l'ensemble, on peut considérer le groupe 5 comme supérieur au suivant et ainsi de suite. Nous allons donc pouvoir examiner la manière dont se répartissent dans les 5 groupes, les informations que nous possédons sur les différents laboratoires afin de chercher s'il existe des caractéristiques permettant de distinguer entre eux les groupes de laboratoires à forte ou à faible réussite.

III. — CARACTÉRISTIQUES ORGANISATIONNELLES ET STYLE DE LEADERSHIP DANS LES CINQ GROUPES

Nous disposons maintenant de deux séries de données : les réponses faites pendant l'interview par les directeurs des 151 laboratoires; une classification de ces 151 laboratoires en 5 groupes, du groupe 5 (le meilleur) au groupe 1 (le moins bon). Ces données ont été l'objet de comparaisons systématiques, pour chacune des informations obtenues, comparaisons dont la signification a été examinée au moyen du test du χ^2 . Seules les variables permettant de dégager des différences significatives seront décrites icí.

A) Caractéristiques organisationnelles.

Il existe vraisemblablement, entre les groupes, des différences de deux ordres : 1) si notre typologie est fondée, on peut s'attendre à ce que la qualité, diverse, des laboratoires entraîne des conséquences sur leurs activités : par exemple les stagiaires étrangers, les thésards seront plus attirés par les meilleurs laboratoires, de même que les chercheurs les plus qualifiés; 2) d'autres variables peuvent être des causes organisationnelles de la qualité du travail de recherche. On peut, par exemple, s'attendre à trouver dans le groupe 5 un plus fort pourcentage de laboratoires de grande taille, de laboratoires bien équipés en techniciens, etc. Des liaisons de ce genre ne seraient pas des faiblesses de la typologie. Mais il faut vérifier leur existence; autrement les éventuelles relations entre le style d'encadrement et la qualité de la recherche pourraient être confondues avec des relations existant entre style d'encadrement et taille. Supposons, par exemple, qu'un fort pourcentage des laboratoires du groupe 5 soit de taille élevée. Dans ce cas, il sera difficile de savoir si le climat social, ou le leadership, caractéristique des laboratoires du groupe 5 est une conséquence de leur taille ou une cause de leur succès.

Différences attendues entre les cinq groupes.

Quand une équipe de recherche voit ses travaux couronnés de succès, elle est en meilleure position pour améliorer ses moyens financiers et en personnel, notamment en cherchant le soutien de plusieurs organisations. De fait, lorsque l'on compare l'ensemble des laboratoires appartenant aux groupes 1, 2 et 3 à ceux des groupes 4 et 5, on trouve beaucoup plus souvent des chercheurs appartenant à plusieurs organisations dans le second cas : sur les 78 laboratoires ayant des chercheurs à double affiliation, 32 (41 %) appartiennent aux groupes 4 et 5; sur les 73 laboratoires n'ayant pas de chercheurs à double affiliation, seulement 14 (19 %) appartiennent aux groupes 4 et 5 ($\chi^2 = 12,67$; significatif pour p = .001).

Les meilleurs laboratoires attirent-ils plus souvent des stagiaires étrangers? Cela paraît évident, même s'il faut considérer les chiffres avec précaution, car le nombre de stagiaires présents peut varier considérablement d'une année à l'autre. Cependant, il faut noter que seulement 12 % des laboratoires du groupe 1 ont au moins un visiteur étranger, et le chiffre s'élève progressivement jusqu'au groupe 5 où 67 % des laboratoires ont des stagiaires d'autres pays.

Caractéristiques organisationnelles différenciant les cinq groupes.

Des différences appréciables sont observées sur quatre points :

- 1) Affiliation institutionnelle. Les laboratoires uniquement universitaires sont parmi les moins performants : sur les 44 laboratoires dans ce cas, 22 appartiennent au groupe 1 (50 %), alors que c'est le cas de 12 seulement pour les 107 autres laboratoires ($\chi^2=26,88$; significatif pour p = .001). Par contre, les laboratoires INSERM sont fréquemment bien classés : 27 sur 61 (44 %) appartiennent aux groupes 4 ou 5 ($\chi^2=9,20$; p = .01). La répartition des laboratoires de l'Institut Pasteur est identique à celle de l'échantillon.
- 2) Type de recherche. Nous avons vu que 1/4 des interviewés décrivent leur recherche comme exclusivement fondamentale; la moitié des laboratoires du groupe 5 appartient à cette catégorie ($\chi^2 = 86.0 \%$; p = .0001). Toutefois, ce résultat mériterait une enquête plus détaillée concernant ce que les directeurs de laboratoire entendent par « fondamentale ». Dans plusieurs cas, en effet, il s'agit de laboratoires implantés dans un hôpital et dont les activités ont certainement un aspect clinique.
- 3) Taille. Sur ce point, les différences sont nettes. Sur les 31 plus petits laboratoires (moins de 10 personnes), 19 appartien-

nent aux groupes 1 ou 2 ($\chi^2=12,46$; p = .001). Inversement, dans le groupe 5, le nombre des grands laboratoires (21 à 30 personnes) est élevé: 7 sur 26 (21 %) contre 11 % (14/125) pour le reste de l'échantillon ($\chi^2=4,44$; p = .05). La taille est donc associée au succès; mais elle peut en être aussi bien une des causes que la conséquence. En outre, cette relation souffre des exceptions importantes: dans le groupe 3, par exemple, la moitié des laboratoires, et dans le groupe 4,40 %, sont dans la tranche 11-20 personnes.

4) Composition du laboratoire. Dans le domaine bio-médical, les techniciens jouent un rôle capital parce que beaucoup d'expériences impliquent des tâches de routine. Il ne faut donc pas s'étonner si parmi les 13 laboratoires qui ne disposent d'aucun technicien plein temps, 7 appartiennent au groupe $1\ (\chi^2=8.0; p=.01)$. Inversement, la moitié des laboratoires qui ont $10\$ techniciens ou plus, appartiennent aux groupes $4\$ et 5.

Deux autres observations sont plus inattendues, la première concerne la présence des chercheurs temps plein qui semble bien être une cause (ou une conséquence ?) de la réussite. Le tableau V montre en effet que la présence et le nombre de chercheurs temps plein est également associé à la réussite. Dans les 31 laboratoires où il n'y en a aucun, 19 (61 %) appartiennent au groupe 1; à l'opposé dans les laboratoires où il y a plus de 6 chercheurs temps plein, 17 (31 %) appartienment au groupe 5 ($\chi^2 = 33,61$ dans le premier cas, $\chi^2 = 11,77$ dans le second cas, les χ^2 étant significatifs pour p = .001). Par ailleurs, la répartition des laboratoires dans les groupes est fortement associée au nombre d'enseignants-chercheurs qui s'y trouvent ($\chi^2 = 19,50$; p = .001). Ces différents chiffres font penser que la recherche faite à temps partiel atteint rarement une haute qualité. Cette idée est d'ailleurs partagée par la plupart de nos interviewés qui ont souvent affirmé que seuls ceux en position de consacrer toute leur énergie à la recherche peuvent obtenir de très bons résultats. Un des problèmes qui se pose alors concerne la nécessité, mentionnée par certains, de garder le contact avec la clinique pour faire de la recherche médicale. Pourrait-on dire que la situation optimale serait celle de chercheurs plein temps, ayant, dans le passé, consacré un certain nombre d'années à une activité clinique? Des recherches plus minutieuses pourraient confirmer cette hypothèse; notons toutefois ici que la moitié seulement des laboratoires étudiés dispose au moins d'un chercheur docteur en médecine, et ils sont plus nombreux à faire partie des groupes 4 et 5 (63 \%; $\chi^2 = 3.84$; p = .05). Même si ces chiffres ne sont pas très démonstratifs, le problème de la répartition du temps des chercheurs bio-médicaux entre l'enseignement, les activités cliniques et la recherche est évidemment capital. La sur-spécialisation est d'ailleurs critiquée

par tous nos interviewés qui formulent la question en ces termes : comment conserver une vision réaliste des problèmes médicaux et, dans le même temps, être capable de prendre du recul pour avoir une perspective générale sur la recherche scientifique.

TABLEAU V
Nombre de chercheurs plein temps

		!	Aucun	1 à 5	6 et plus
Groupe	5			6 %	31 %
Groupe	4		7 %	17 %	23,5 %
Groupe	3		13 %	38 %	25,5 %
Groupe			19 %	17 %	18 %
Groupe			61 %	22 %	2 %
		-	100 % = 31	100 % = 65	100 % = 55

Au total, que peut-on retenir de l'examen des conditions organisationnelles caractérisant les cinq groupes? En premier lieu, la typologie que nous avons élaborée est confortée par ces résultats: si les laboratoires des deux « meilleurs » groupes attirent plus les étrangers, ont plus souvent des chercheurs à double affiliation, ont plus de personnel et font plus souvent partie de l'INSERM (où les procédures d'évaluation des résultats sont explicites et institutionnalisées) que de l'Université (où la survie d'un laboratoire ne dépend pas de processus d'évaluation institutionnalisé), c'est que la classification est adéquate, le succès appelant le succès et favorisant l'attribution de nouveaux moyens. Par contre, deux observations soulèvent des problèmes que des recherches ultérieures devraient examiner de plus près :

- la taille du laboratoire si elle peut être un signe de succès n'est en aucune manière une condition sine qua non de la réussite. Dans ce cas, quelle est la taille optimale pour qu'un laboratoire reste éminent?
- le « plein temps » semble favoriser une recherche de haute qualité. Dans ce cas, comment concilier cette exigence avec l'expérience clinique et/ou les charges de gestion?

B) Style de leadership.

Les entretiens ont permis de recueillir des informations sur deux thèmes :

- 1) les attitudes des directeurs envers leurs subordonnés,
- 2) les relations sociales à l'intérieur du laboratoire.

Comme précédemment, nous ne décrirons ci-dessous que les aonnées qui différencient entre eux les cinq groupes.

Attitudes envers les subordonnés.

Les interviewes ont évalué leur style d'encadrement en choisissant entre trois réponses :

- très libéral (60 % des réponses)
 libéral (33 %)
 et strict (7 %)
- Le pourcentage de style jugé « très libéral » diminue progressivement depuis les laboratoires du groupe 1 (76,5 % des cas) jusqu'aux laboratoires des groupes 4 et 5 (47,6 %). La tendance est nette mais la différence est juste significative ($\chi^2 = 5,35$; p = .05).

Le tableau est le même pour la question concernant le contrôle du travail des chercheurs; nous avons demandé aux directeurs de laboratoire quels rapports ils exigeaient de leurs chercheurs, en dehors des rapports obligatoires demandés par les différents organismes de soutien. Leurs réponses se répartissent en quatre catégories : rapports écrits réguliers (1 %); rapports oraux seulement (30 %); rapports officiels seulement (22 %); aucun rapport : le travail est vérifié « sur le tas » (38 %). Rapports oraux ou écrits sont légèrement plus fréquents dans les groupes 3, 4 et 5 (47 % des cas) que dans les groupes 1 et 2 (29 % des cas; $\chi^2 = 5.9$; p = .02).

Relations sociales.

Trois questions donnent des réponses qui se répartissent de manière différente dans les cinq groupes de laboratoire. En outre, les différences observées sont cohérentes entre elles et montrent que les résultats du laboratoire sont meilleurs lorsque les relations sociales entre le directeur et les chercheurs sont placées sous le signe de la confiance mutuelle.

Le premier point concerne la manière dont les techniciens sont impliqués dans la présentation des résultats publiés. Le tableau VI indique par groupe la répartition des différentes éventualités qui va de « co-signent souvent » (18 %) à « ne signent jamais » (44 %) en passant par « sont remerciés en note » (5 %) et « co-signent lorsque leur contribution est scientifique » (33 %). Mais cette répartition varie beaucoup selon les groupes (cf. tableau VI) : 73,5 % ne signent jamais dans le groupe 1; 14.3 % dans le groupe 5 ($\chi^2=16.0$; p = .001). La sécurité et la carrière des techniciens ne sont pas tributaires des publications mais on peut imaginer que leur implication et leur motivation sont plus fortes quand leur contribution est rendue visible.

TABLEAU VI Contribution des techniciens aux publications

	Signent souvent	Seulement si contribution scientifique	Sont remerciés en note	Ne signent jamais
Groupe 5	14,3 %	62 %	9,4 %	14,3 %
Groupe 4	28 %	20 %	12 %	40 %
Groupe 3	20,9 %	42 %	4,5 %	32,6 %
Groupe 2	14,4 %	32 %	3,6 %	50 %
Groupe 1	12 %	14,5 %	_	73,5 %

La pratique des réunions est très variée selon les laboratoires. Il est rare qu'il n'y ait « aucune réunion » (8,6 %); les réunions hebdomadaires sont souvent observées (34,4 %); des réunions moins fréquentes (toutes les deux semaines, tous les mois, un mois sur deux, de manière irrégulière) sont la règle pour un laboratoire sur deux. Mais l'existence de réunions hebdomadaires, à jour fixe, représente visiblement un atout puisqu'on les observe dans la moitié des cas pour les groupes 4 et 5; alors que l'absence totale de réunion est un handicap (aucun cas pour les groupes 4 et 5).

Les relations entre les chercheurs et le directeur ont également été considérées du point de vue du dialogue entre chaque chercheur et son patron. Discutent-ils leurs problèmes de carrière? Très souvent (moitié des réponses). Quelquefois (seconde moitié). Ici encore, on observe une tendance en faveur des meilleurs laboratoires (groupes 4 et 5) qui atteint la signification ($\chi^2 = 2.8$; p = .01). Discutent-ils les problèmes personnels des chercheurs? Souvent (45 %); quand on leur demande (28 %); rarement ou jamais (27 %). La différence entre les groupes va dans le même sens que précédemment mais sans être significative. Il faut noter sur ce point qu'une certaine intimité a plus de chances de se développer dans les petites équipes et, également, signaler que les directeurs qui ont une formation médicale voient plus souvent leurs chercheurs soumettre des problèmes personnels, s'adressant dans ce cas autant au médecin qu'au patron, rôle double que les directeurs acceptent visiblement de jouer.

A ce point de la recherche, plusieurs conclusions se dégagent. En ce qui concerne le difficile problème de l'élaboration des critères de succès, les obstacles n'ont pas paru insurmontables du fait de l'homogénéité des différents critères entre eux. De plus, la classification en 5 groupes ne semble pas bjaisée par rapport aux carac-

téristiques organisationnelles les plus importantes. La seule variable qu'il faut garder présente à l'esprit concerne la grande taille des meilleurs laboratoires, à la fois cause possible et conséquence vraisemblable de leur réussite.

Les différences observées entre les 5 groupes concernent 4 aspects principaux :

- 1) le type de recherche et les objectifs sont plus souvent décrits comme fondamentaux dans les meilleurs laboratoires;
- 2) les laboratoires où l'on trouve des enseignants-chercheurs ne sont jamais parmi les meilleurs; les laboratoires où se trouvent des chercheurs plein temps ont de plus fortes chances d'appartenir aux deux meilleurs groupes;
- 3) les laboratoires les meilleurs sont encadrés par des directeurs modérément libéraux et qui contrôlent de manière formelle le travail de leurs chercheurs;
- 4) les laboratoires les meilleurs sont caractérisés par un climat participatif: plus de réunions, des techniciens plus impliqués dans les résultats, plus de relations personnelles entre les chercheurs et leurs patrons.

Les deux dernières conclusions font évidemment penser aux théories classiques de l'encadrement, qui montrent que la coexistence de la « considération » et de la « structure » représentent le type de leadership le plus efficace. Les données que nous avons obtenues jusqu'ici introduisent une dimension supplémentaire : la participation aux décisions. En outre, elles ne nous donnent aucune indication sur les relations entre ces différentes variables (encadrement libéral, contrôle formel, participation). Pour faire progresser la recherche sur ce problème, il faudrait étudier de manière plus précise l'agencement relatif des différentes variables et répondre à des questions comme : La « structure » et la « considération » représentent-elles deux types de comportement indépendants, deux options possibles dans l'animation d'un laboratoire? Ou, comme cela a été démontré dans l'entreprise, renforcent-elles leurs effets positifs? La taille des laboratoires représente-t-elle une variable modératrice importante? Le thème de recherche et notamment le caractère plus ou moins fondamental ou plus ou moins appliqué impose-t-il un mode d'encadrement spécifique? Ce sont là des questions que nous allons aborder avec des méthodes statistiques plus sophistiquées.

IV. — STYLES DE LEADERSHIP ET VARIABLES DE SITUATION : RÉSULTATS DE L'ANALYSE DE CORRESPONDANCE

Les résultats que nous venons de présenter sont de simples comparaisons des 5 groupes entre eux. Pour aller plus loin et chercher s'il existe des associations entre variables permettant de proposer un modèle de contingence (style de leadership/variables organisationnelles/réussite dans la recherche), nous avons procédé à une analyse de correspondance par la méthode de Benzécri. Cette analyse a porté sur une série de 40 variables représentant les descriptions du style de leadership (liste reproduite en Annexe III avec les sigles utilisés sur la représentation graphique). Les 4 premiers axes expliquant au total 31 % de l'inertie ont été retenus et seront décrits ci-dessous. Ensuite, 21 variables additionnelles ont été projetées sur les 4 axes : les 17 domaines de recherche et la taille des laboratoires représentée par un regroupement en 4 catégories. Enfin, les 151 laboratoires ont été également projetés en tant que variables additionnelles, chaque laboratoire étant identifié par son numéro de code et par un chiffre représentant le groupe auquel il appartient du point de vue qualité de la recherche.

A) Description des quatre axes:

Le tableau VII donne le détail des variables avec l'indication de leurs contributions '.

TABLEAU VII
Contributions des variables sur quatre axes

Axe 1. - * Participation et structure >

Variables -	Pôle positif	Pôle négatif		
Réunions	Aucune	98	Toutes les semaines Rapports	102
Evaluation du travail		59	oraux	118
Réunions bibliographiques		35	Oui	37
Gestion	Très libérale	40	Plutôt libérale Limitée aux chercheurs	60
Autonomie	<u> </u>		confirmés	61

^{1.} La contribution représente une corrélation entre l'axe et la variable, exprimée en 1.1000.

Axe 2. - « Considération »

Variables	Pôle positi	ť	Pôle négatif		
 Le responsable de laboratoire discute avec ses chercheurs de leurs problèmes personnels . Le responsable de laboratoire discute avec ses chercheurs de leurs problèmes de carrière . La satisfaction liée à la répu- 	Très souvent		Lorsque les chercheurs le demandent Quelquefois	79 106	
tation du laboratoire	Non	45			
 L'autonomie des chercheurs 			Très contrôlée	86	
- La gestion du laboratoire	_		Plutôt		
_			contrôlée	51	
- La signature des techniciens	_		Jamais	43	

Axe 3. — « Formalisme »

Variables	Pôle positif	Pôle négatif
— Réunions	Aucune 43	Tous les mois 47
Réunions bibliographiques Le responsable de laboratoire discute avec ses chercheurs de	Aucune 67	jours 64
leurs problèmes personnels	Souvent 44	Rarement 156 Une fois les objectifs
— L'autonomie des chercheurs	_	définis 114 Rapports
- Rapport de recherche	_	officiels 53 Elle n'est pas
— Compétition		un stimulant 33

Axe 4. — « Compétition entre chercheurs »

Variables	Pôle positif		Pôle négatif
— Réputation du laboratoire	Est un	46	Ne procure pas de satis- faction 63
— La compétition à l'intérieur du laboratoire		00	N'est pas un stimulant 117
- Les chercheurs solitaires		12	
L'autonomie des chercheurs Le responsable de laboratoire discute avec ses chercheurs de	Totale	44	_
leurs problèmes de carrière — La gestion du laboratoire	Non	51	Plutôt libéraie 43

L'axe 1 a été nommé Participation et Contrôle car il groupe sur chaque pôle des variables représentant la participation des membres du laboratoire au travail accompli et des variables indiquant le degré de contrôle du travail. Il faut noter que ces variables sont symétriquement opposées aux deux extrémités.

L'axe 2, « Considération », présente également un groupe de variables réparties de manière symétrique aux deux extrémités de l'axe : un côté caractérisé par des contacts fréquents entre les chercheurs et leur directeur et l'autre, des contacts rares et une faible association des techniciens aux résultats du travail.

L'axe 3 est plus difficile à déchiffrer; les contributions sont surtout élevées sur l'axe négatif et concernent des variables dépeignant un climat empreint de formalisme : réunions rares, rapports officiels, autonomie des chercheurs, une fois leurs objectifs définis; l'autre extrémité de l'axe étant caractérisée par l'existence de contacts informels (concernant les problèmes personnels) et l'absence de réunions à visée professionnelle. C'est pourquoi nous avons intitulé cet axe « Formalisme ».

L'axe 4 rassemble des variables qui mettent l'accent sur la compétition entre chercheurs et entre laboratoires et qui définissent un climat favorisant l'autonomie, voire le travail solitaire, par opposition à un refus de la compétition comme stimulant.

Ces quatre axes permettent donc une définition nuancée du style de leadership des directeurs de laboratoire. Avant d'examiner la relation entre la qualité de la recherche (représentée par le classement des laboratoires en 5 groupes) et les dimensions définies par ces axes, il est important de décrire la relation entre les axes d'une part et les variables « anatomiques » d'autre part.

B) Variables additionnelles.

La projection des variables additionnelles éclaire beaucoup la description déjà obtenue à l'aide des 4 axes et ensuite les plans définis par une paire d'axes. Pour la clarté de l'exposé, nous considérons d'abord les axes isolés en indiquant les variables additionnelles qui se présentent sur les graphes avec un pattern régulier.

Axe 1.

La taille est répartie de manière régulière le long de l'axe 1. les laboratoires groupés dans la catégorie « taille 1 » (moins de 10 chercheurs et techniciens) étant caractérisés par l'absence de participation et de contrôle et ceux de taille 3 et 4 (plus de 20 cher-

cheurs et techniciens) ayant plus souvent un style de leadership caractérisé par la participation et la structure. Même si la relation est claire, elle n'est pas totale: on observe des petits laboratoires qui sont dirigés de manière non libérale et avec une participation organisée. Rappelons que parmi les 31 petits laboratoires (moins de 10 personnes) 19 appartiennent aux catégories les moins productives (groupe 1 et 2) et que, à l'opposé, dans le meilleur groupe (5). il y a une forte proportion de très grands laboratoires, sans que cette relation succès/taille soit régulière.

Certains domaines se groupent également de manière régulière le long de l'axe 1, en suivant la configuration suivante (le chiffre entre parenthèse rappelle le nombre de laboratoires concernés).

Partici et cont							rtici contr	pation ôle
	Héma	Bioch	Maladies	Bacté	·	<u>.</u> Chiru	Phari	-∣Méde
	Hématologie	Biochimie (Bactériologie		irurgie (harmacologie (7)	Médecine l
	e (6)	(19)	ardio-v	e (8)		9	gie (7)	légale (
			cardio-vasculaires					(2)
			es (2)					

Si on examine la manière dont s'ordonnent les disciplines de recherche, on peut penser que cet axe oppose des recherches relativement empiriques, principalement fondées sur l'analyse de cas cliniques à des recherches de nature plus fondamentale, fondées sur l'élaboration de modèles abstraits. Par exemple, la médecine légale analyse des cas précis et élabore, à partir de ces cas un ensemble de connaissances et de règles. La pharmacologie, qualifiée de recherche appliquée par les directeurs de laboratoires euxmêmes, étudie les effets primaires et secondaires de nouvelles molécules, les plans expérimentaux étant établis en fonction des connaissances acquises et de la routine expérimentale. Les laboratoires de chirurgie étudient des données anatomiques et des méthodes chirurgicales. A l'autre extrémité, il est évident que l'hématologie. la bio-chimie sont des thèmes où des hypothèses abstraites et des modèles généraux sont testés de diverses manières. Maladies cardio-vasculaires et bactériologie se situent entre les deux tendances puisque les deux aspects (recherches empiriques. testing de modèles abstraits peuvent être envisagés).

Axe 2.

Il n'y a pas sur l'axe 2, de position privilégiée des laboratoires en fonction de la taille; mais les domaines sont, ici encore, ordonnés de la manière suivante:

Pas de considération				c	onsidé	ration	i
J			1	11			1
Médecine légale (2)	Bactériologie (8)	Pharmacologie (7)	Chirurgie (6)	Bio-chimie (19)	Hématologie (6)	Maladies cardio-vasculaires (3)	Génélique (4)

Une variable rend compte de la position de ces laboratoires en fonction de l'axe « considération », c'est la répartition interne du personnel en différentes catégories, et ceci indépendamment de la taille du laboratoire. Dans les disciplines caractérisées par une forte considération de la part des directeurs de laboratoire (maladies cardio-vasculaires, génétique, hématologie, bio-chimie) on trouve un grand nombre de chercheurs temps plein (7 en moyenne pour les 32 laboratoires concernés) mais peu d'enseignants-chercheurs (1,5 en moyenne) et peu de thésards (1,8 en moyenne). La situation est opposée pour les laboratoires où le comportement des directeurs se caractérise par une faible considération : peu de chercheurs temps plein (2 en moyenne pour les 23 laboratoires concernés), un nombre équivalent, ou supérieur d'enseignants-chercheurs et de thésards (3 et 4 en moyenne, respectivement).

Cette observation s'explique:

Lorsque la majorité des chercheurs du laboratoire sont présents de manière permanente et n'ont pas d'autre affiliation, on peut facilement imaginer que les contacts entre le directeur et les chercheurs sont plus fréquents. Dans ce cas, le comportement du directeur est déterminé par la composition de son équipe, et par la fréquence des contacts avec les chercheurs, autant que par sa personnalité ou par ses opinions concernant la manière de gérer un laboratoire.

Axes 1 et 2.

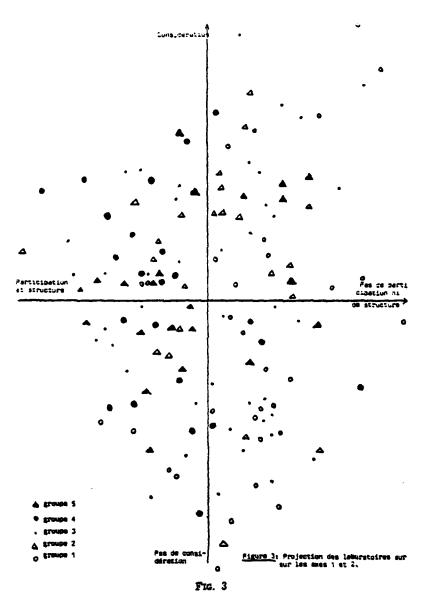
Rappelons que les 151 laboratoires ont été projetés, comme variables additionnelles, sur le plan déterminé par les axes 1 et 2. En outre, sur les graphes, chaque laboratoire apparaît avec des informations permettant de l'identifier. De ce fait, il est possible de chercher si les organisations de rattachement jouent un rôle sur le style de leadership adopté par les directeurs de laboratoire. Si c'était le cas, on devrait voir les laboratoires appartenant aux mêmes organismes se grouper sur telle ou telle partie du graphe, et on pourrait vérifier ensuite la liaison observée, de manière quantitative, par l'étude des indices de contribution. De ce point de vue, les résultats sont nets : Aucun groupement cohérent n'apparaît, ni en fonction de l'axe 1 (participation et structure), ni en fonction de l'axe 2 (considération). Ce fait infirme une de nos hypothèses de départ, à savoir l'existence d'un type de management au niveau du laboratoire, qui serait lié à (et explicable par) les contraintes de l'organisme auquel le laboratoire se trouve rattaché; et ceci malgré les fortes différences qui existent entre l'INSERM, l'Institut Pasteur et l'Université. Cette absence de liaison prend encore plus de relief lorsqu'on la compare aux relations observées entre le style d'encadrement d'une part, la taille du laboratoire et le domaine de recherches d'autre part.

C) Niveau de réussite et position des laboratoires par rapport aux différents axes.

Il est évidemment possible de situer les laboratoires appartenant respectivement aux groupes 1, 2, 3, 4 et 5 (des plus mauvais aux meilleurs) sur les plans définis par des paires d'axes. Le seul regroupement significatif apparaît pour les axes 1 et 2. En ce qui concerne le formalisme et la compétition entre les chercheurs, nos résultats ne font apparaître aucune liaison significative avec la qualité des résultats, ce qui était déjà le cas pour l'étude des croisements entre variables.

Par contre, le rôle de la considération et celui de la participation et structure comme déterminants de la réussite des laboratoires est déjà manifeste lorsqu'on procède à un simple tri croisé des variables concernées. L'étude des axes 1 et 2 confirme cette donnée générale avec des nuances et des informations sur le rôle respectif des deux dimensions. La figure 3 représente les axes 1 et 2, avec indication de leurs pôles; pour plus de clarté seuls les groupes (1, 2, 3, 4 ou 5) auxquels appartient chaque laboratoire du point de vue de la qualité de ses recherches ont été indiqués.

Deux observations peuvent être faites si l'on examine la figure 3 : d'une part les laboratoires ayant de bons résultats (« 4 »



Projection des laboratoires sur les axes 1 et 2.

et «5») sont nettement plus nombreux au pôle participation de l'axe 1. D'autre part, le second axe ne joue que par rapport au premier : lorsqu'il y a peu de participation et de structure, l'absence de considération représente une circonstance aggravante.

Ces données graphiques sont confirmées par les chiffres: la contribution moyenne des laboratoires du groupe 5 (les meilleurs résultats) est de 199 pour le pôle positif de l'axe et cette moyenne diminue régulièrement en fonction du groupe jusqu'au groupe 1 (127). A noter une exception marquante, un laboratoire du groupe 2 qui a une contribution de 486; ce laboratoire fonctionne avec une très forte participation et un très fort contrôle de la part du directeur. Son domaine, tout à fait original, fait penser que notre méthode d'attribution des critères l'a sous-évalué.

Ces résultats sont confirmés par les contributions moyennes au pôle négatif de l'axe (pas de participation ni de structure) qui vont de 259 (groupe 1) à 125 (groupe 5). Une exception notable, ici encore; un laboratoire classé 4 et caractérisé par une faible participation (pas de réunion) et une faible structure : le directeur qui occupe également d'importantes fonctions hospitalières délègue, en réalité, son autorité à des « responsables d'équipes » qui se chargent du contrôle et de la participation.

En ce qui concerne l'axe 2, la présence de « considération » n'est pas une condition de réussite : les contributions moyennes des laboratoires sur le pôle positif varient peu et surtout de manière irrégulière pour les différents groupes. Par contre, l'absence de considération (pôle négatif de l'axe 2) différencie fortement les laboratoires (moyenne des contributions allant régulièrement de 21 pour le groupe 5, à 112 pour le groupe 1).

CONCLUSION

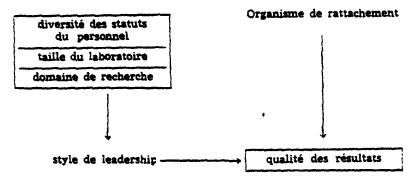
Au total, nous avons observé trois types de relations, qui semblent indépendantes les unes des autres :

En premier lieu, l'organisme de rattachement détermine la qualité du laboratoire. Cette liaison est renforcée par le fait que nous avons choisi de classer « INSERM » les laboratoires ayant également une affiliation universitaire. Il n'en demeure pas moins que plus les systèmes de contrôle sont formalisés, et les évaluations fréquentes, plus la qualité des laboratoires est élevée.

En second lieu, il existe une relation entre la taille, le domaine (donc le processus heuristique) et le style employé par le directeur du laboratoire. Tout se passe comme si les contraintes dues au nombre de chercheurs, à la diversité de leurs statuts et de leurs formations, à la nature de la recherche entraînaient les directeurs de laboratoire à adopter plus souvent tel ou tel style de leadersnip.

Troisième relation: style (participation, structure, considération) et réussite du laboratoire. On a vu en effet que les laboratoires appartenant aux groupes de tête sont plus souvent caractérisés par la participation associée à la structure et que l'absence de considération pour les chercheurs, tolérable lorsqu'il y a « participation et structure », entraîne l'insuccès lorsqu'elle est associée à une faible « participation et structure ».

Ces conclusions peuvent être représentées par le diagramme ci-dessous :



En d'autres termes, les laboratoires les plus petits, ceux dont le personnel est le moins permanent et ceux qui sont spécialisés dans un domaine de recherche clinique et empirique tendent à adopter un style qui, par ailleurs, semble être peu favorable à la qualité des résultats.

Mais il faut insister sur ce point : il n'y a pas de liaison systématique entre les conditions organisationnelles (diversité des statuts du personnel, taille du laboratoire, domaine de recherche) et la qualté des résultats. Il ne s'agit donc pas ici d'un schéma de contingence où différents styles de leadership sont efficaces selon les caractéristiques organisationnelles (comme dans le modèle de FIEDLER), mais d'une double liaison, agissant de manière parallèle : les caractéristiques du laboratoire déterminant un style d'encadrement et les conduites d'encadrement déterminant la qualité des résultats obtenus par le laboratoire.

ANNEXE 1 Guide d'entretien

- Définition du domaine de recherche. Quelles sont les principales activités de votre laboratoire? (type d'activité, processus heuristiques).
- Votre laboratoire est-il rattaché administrativement à un organisme privé ou public autre qu'universitaire?
- Effectif total de votre laboratoire à plein temps à temps partiel.
- Répartition hommes/temmes.
- Ancienneté de votre personnel : (- de deux ans, + de dix ans).
- Age des personnes qui travaillent dans votre laboratoire :
 - plutôt jeunes,
 - d'age moyen,
 - plutôt âgées,
- Y a-t-il une différence d'âge qui correspond aux différentes catégories de personnel qui constituent votre laboratoire?
- Composition du laboratoire : combien y a-t-il actuellement de :
 - techniciens?
 - chercheurs à plein temps?
 - enseignants chercheurs?
 - étudiants en thèse?
 - autre catégorie?
- Y a-t-il des chercheurs qui dépendent de plusieurs organismes? Si oui, combien?
- Avez-vous dans votre laboratoire des spécialistes de disciplines différentes de la vôtre?
 Si oui, laquelle?
- Déterminez la participation de vos chercheurs aux différentes manifestations scientifiques.
- Est-ce que tous ou seulement quelques-uns de vos chercheurs sont invités à des colloques à l'étranger? en France?

régulièrement, pas souvent.

- Combien de vos chercheurs participent à un congrés international? Tous ou quelques-uns?
 - A tous les congrès qui concernent votre spécialité?
- Combien de vos chercheurs participent à un congrès national? Tous ou quelques-uns?

A tous les congrès qui concernent votre spécialité?

- Dans les deux dernières années, combien de communications lors de congrès ont été faites par votre laboratoire?
 - aucune,
 - plus de cinq,
 - plus de dix.
- Dans les deux dernières années, combien de publications ont été faites par votre laboratoire?
 - rapports ronéotés,
 - livres,
 - articles publiés dans des revues étrangères,

RECHERCHE BIO-MÉDICALE

- articles publiés dans des revues françaises, - participation à des ouvrages collectifs, - autres. - Parmi les publications qui sont faites par votre laboratoire, combien sont signées uniquement par le responsable de recherche? Combien sont co-signées? - Combien de temps en moyenne un chercheur de votre laboratoire passe-t-il sur le même sujet? - moins de deux ans, - entre deux et six ans, - plus de six ans. - Faites-vous des réunions de laboratoire? - Quel est le but de ces réunions? - discuter. - informer sur le plan administratif, - informer sur le plan scientifique, . - choisir des orientations de recherches. - affecter des crédits. - autres. - Pour vous, ces réunions sont-elles indispensables ? - Quelles possibilités ont les chercheurs pour vous rencontrer? (rendez-vous, horaires de visites). Y a-t-il dans votre laboratoire un ou des chercheurs solitaires? Si oui, leur présence constitue-t-elle un obstacle à la productivité de l'équipe ? - L'image de marque de votre laboratoire constitue-t-elle pour les chercheurs qui y travaillent - un facteur de satisfaction important. - un facteur d'insatisfaction, - un élément neutre. - Parmi les chercheurs qui travaillent dans votre laboratoire, quelle proportion considérez-vous comme - très bons chercheurs. - bons chercheurs. A l'exception du vôtre, pouvez-vous citer trois laboratoires de recherche que vous estimez les meilleurs dans votre spécialité en France? **– 1** - un stimulant pour l'équipe?
- Selon vous, la concurrence entre vos chercheurs est-elle
 - une source d'inquiétude au niveau individuel?
 - un obstacle à la productivité du groupe?
- Pensez-vous qu'il y sit une certaine solidarité entre vos chercheurs?
 - au niveau des conditions de travail.
 - au niveau du développement scientifique.
- L'appartenance à un organisme dit de prestige (université par exemple) peut-elle être pour les chercheurs qui en dépendent
 - un facteur de satisfaction important?
 - un facteur de satisfaction peu important?
 - un élément tout à fait neutre?
 - un facteur d'insatisfaction?

- Comment définissez-vous l'organisation du travail dans votre laboratoire?
 - libérale,
 - assez libérale, contrôlée,

 - autre.
- Quelles sont ses caractéristiques essentielles?
 - horaires libres,
 - autonomie dans le travail,
 - exigence de rapports écrits ou oraux, compte rendu d'activités en cours.
- En tant que patron, discutez-vous avec vos chercheurs de leurs probiemes personnels?
 - très souvent, souvent,

 - Jamais.

ANNEXE 2 Rubriques de l'analyse de contenu

I. — Efficacité de la recherche:

- nombre de publications (revues à referee dans les 2 dernières années,
- participation des chercheurs à des congrès dans les 2 dernières années,
- communication des chercheurs à des congrès dans les 2 dernières années.
- évaluation de l'ensemble des chercheurs du laboratoire,
- présence de chercheurs « solitaires »,
- cohésion,
- relations des chercheurs avec l'organisation.

II. — Variables organisationnelles:

- réunion des chercheurs : nature, fréquence, but,
- attitudes du directeur en ce qui concerne l'indépendance et la compétition des chercheurs,
- autonomie des chercheurs,
- rapport et contrôle du travail effectué,
- signature des publications communes.

III. - Variables « anatomiques »:

- taille,
- domaine de recherche,
- age des chercheurs,
- ancienneté,
- % d'hommes et de femmes.
- fonctions,
- spécialité,
- relations du laboratoire avec d'autres organismes.

IV. — Processus heuristique:

- point de départ des recherches (clinique, bibliographique, recherche antérieure, modèle théorique),
- orientation des recherches du laboratoire (compréhension des processus biologiques, application clinique, solution de problèmes médicaux, élaboration de techniques médicales).

ANNEXE 3

Liste des 40 variables utilisées dans l'analyse de correspondance

Variables	Sigles
- Les techniciens ne signent pas	TEC1
- Les techniciens signent très souvent	TEC2
- Les techniciens signent lorsqu'ils ont effectué un véritable travail	
scientifique	TEC3
- Aucune réunion, le laboratoire est trop petit	REUI
— Réunions irrégulières	REU2
— Réunions hebdomadaires	REU3
- Réunions mensuelles	REU4
- Les orientations de travail ne sont pas définies lors des réunions	ORII
- Les orientations de travail sont définies pendant les réunions	ORIZ
- Pas de réunion bibliographique	BIBI
— Réunions bibliographiques	BIB2
— Pas de chercheur solitaire	SOLI
— Les chercheurs solitaires sont génants	SOL
- Les chercheurs solitaires ne sont pas génants	SOL3
- La réputation du laboratoire : pas de réponse, il est trop « jeune »	REP2
La satisfaction n'est pas liée à la réputation du laboratoire La satisfaction est liée à la réputation du laboratoire	REP3
	COMI
La compétition : aucune idée La compétition est un stimulant	COM2
La compétition est un stimulant lorsqu'elle est modérée	COM3
La compétition est à la fois un stimulant et une gêne	COM4
- La compétition est un désastre	COM5
- La gestion du laboratoire est très libérale	ORGI
- La gestion du laboratoire est plutôt libérale	ORG2
— La gestion du laboratoire est plutôt contrôlée	ORG3
- Autonomie totale des chercheurs	AUT1
- Autonomie des chercheurs une fois les objectifs définis	AUT2
- Autonomie limitée aux chercheurs confirmés	AUT3
- Faible autonomie	AUT4
- Evaluation directe du travail	EVA1
- Rapports oraux	EVA2
- Rapports écrits	EVA3
- Rapports officiels	EVA4
- Le responsable de laboratoire ne parle jamais avec ses chercheurs	
de leurs problèmes personnels	PER1
- Le responsable de laboratoire parle rerement avec ses chercheurs	
de leurs problèmes personnels	PER2
- Le responsable de laboratoire parle avec ses chercheurs lorsque	
ceux-ci le demandent	PER3
Le responsable de laboratoire parle souvent avec ses chercheurs	DET 4
de leurs problèmes personnels	PER4
— Le responsable de laboratoire ne parle pas avec ses chercheurs de leurs problèmes de carrière	CABI
Le responsable de laboratoire parle très souvent avec ses cher-	CAR1
cheurs de leurs problèmes de carrière	CAR2
Le responsable de laboratoire parle quelquefois avec ses cher-	
cheurs de leurs problèmes de carrière	CAR3

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